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A HISTORY OF ENGLAND

PERSONAL MONARCHY

1485—1688

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A HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

By the Rev. J. FRANCK BRIGHT, M.A., *Fellow of University College, and Historical Lecturer in Balliol, New, and University Colleges, Oxford; late Master of the Modern School in Marlborough College.*

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND

BY THE REV.

J. FRANCK BRIGHT, M.A.

FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, AND HISTORICAL LECTURER IN BALLIOL, NEW, AND UNIVERSITY COLLEGES, OXFORD; LATE MASTER OF THE MODERN SCHOOL IN MARLBOROUGH COLLEGE

PERIOD II.

PERSONAL MONARCHY

Henry VII. to James II.

1485—1688

With Maps and Plans

New York

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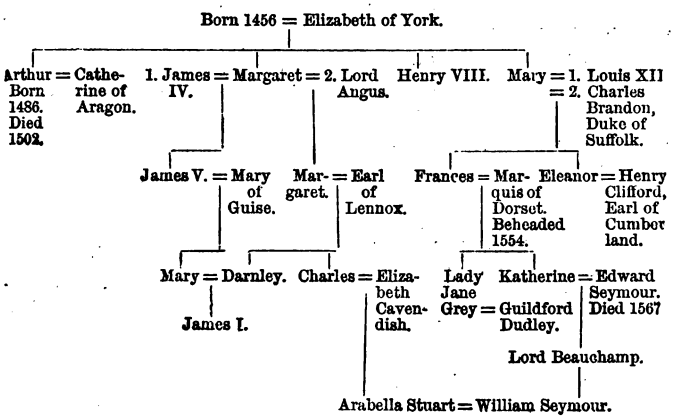
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HENRY VII.

1485—1509.



CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Scotland.	*France.*	*Germany.*	*Spain.*
James III., 1460.	Charles VIII., 1483.	Frederick III., 1440.	Ferdinand II., 1479
James IV., 1488.	Louis XII., 1498.	Maximilian I., 1493.	

POPES.—Innocent VIII., 1484. Alexander VI., 1492. Pius III., 1503. Julius II., 1503.

Archbishops.	*Chancellors.*
Thomas Bouchier, 1454.	John Alcock, 1485.
John Morton, 1486.	Cardinal Morton, 1487.
Henry Dean, 1501.	Henry Dean, 1500.
William Warham, 1503.	William Warham, 1502.

A NEW line was thus raised to the throne of England. It was only indirectly that the new King represented the House of Lancaster. On his father's side he was sprung from the second marriage of the wife of Henry V., on his mother's side from the illegitimate family of John of Gaunt, which had been expressly excluded from the throne.[1] In the lack of any other leader, however, he had been accepted as head of the Lancas-

Character of the reign, that of an usurper.

[1] The exception does not occur in the patent of Legitimation in the Rolls of Parliament, but is added in the patent confirming the grant to John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, 1407.

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trians, but it was really a coalition between the Yorkists and Lancastrians which secured him his elevation. Richard had so shocked the feelings even of his own party, that they had been willing, as we have seen, to waive their old antipathies, and to assist Henry, provided always that he married the Princess Elizabeth of York. The new King therefore found some difficulty in stating on what grounds he claimed the throne. Lancastrian in feeling, but not purely Lancastrian in blood, and dependent upon the support of Yorkists, he could allege no hereditary claim,—to allege conquest, which seemed the other alternative, could not but be irritating to a proud nation like the English. Nor indeed would it have represented the fact. It would have been ridiculous to allege that the kingdom had been conquered at the battle of Bosworth, when the advantage had been secured chiefly by the accidental death of his rival. In fact, as he himself knew, he was accepted by the nation because they were wearied out of bloodshed, and because there seemed some chance that the great national feud might be healed by his accession. He consequently had himself declared King by the Parliament, which, though it was in fact subservient to the ruling power, retained much of the authority derived from its former greatness, and still presumably expressed the national wishes. The example thus set by Henry was followed by his successors, who, arbitrary though they were, preferred to give to their usurpations the sanction of what still professed to be the representation of the nation. None the less was his reign the reign of an usurper, the reign of one anxious to establish his dynasty, and working for that end without much regard for the national honour. It is plain, however, that he understood well the nature of the crisis, and the opportunity which was offered him for establishing a strong monarchy upon the ruins of the old nobility of England, which had been almost exterminated during the late wars. We find him therefore determined and cruel in the suppression and punishment of all insurrections on the part of any who could be dangerous to his dynasty;—avaricious and grasping, even violently and illegally so when he found himself strong enough, not merely for the sake of the money, though probably he liked that well enough, but because he knew what strength lay in the possession of large treasures, and because he saw that it might free him from the necessity of frequent Parliaments;—determined to maintain order, and for that purpose, and as an additional support to the central authority, establishing his Court of the Star Chamber. In his relations with foreign countries, we see him risking little for mere

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honour, but securing some solid advantages by those forms of intrigue which, arising in Italy, were gradually growing into that art of diplomacy which is so distinguishing a mark of modern European history; while his domestic policy was directed chiefly to depress still further the already broken nobility, while surrounding himself with new-made men who depended for their importance on Court favour.

Change in the character of the monarchy.

His reign is in fact the completion of an entire change in the character of the monarchy which was begun by Edward IV. The constitutional growth of the nation, which had been advancing with rapid strides since the time of Edward I., was checked. In the place of national or feudal monarchy there had arisen a monarchy personal and nearly absolute; and many of the abuses of royalty already removed (such as the exaggerated power of the Privy Council and the use of arbitrary taxation under the form of benevolences) began to reappear. At the close of the Wars of the Roses there was no class of sufficient importance to withstand the power of royalty; the intermediate classes had disappeared. The King stood face to face with the commonalty; and that commonalty was not yet sufficiently powerful to act as a check upon its rival. The constitutional growth of England had depended upon the union of all classes, Church, Barons, and Commons. But the Wars of the Roses had destroyed the old nobility. That great war had been in its character a faction fight among the nobles themselves; it had scarcely touched the bulk of the nation. The processes of law went on as usual; industry continued, trade improved, wealth increased. But the two great factions mutually destroyed each other; at the close of that war there were scarcely any of the great families left. The Church had been unaffected by the war. Its wealth was untouched. But by the signs of the coming Reformation given by Wicliffe and his followers, and by the threatening attitude more than once assumed by the Commons, it had been completely terrified. To uphold its position it was ready to cling to any support. The strongest support was the Crown. All its influence was therefore withdrawn from the nation, and thrown on the side of the King; and from among its numbers, till the time of Cromwell and the Reformation, the ablest ministers of the new monarchy were drawn. It might be supposed, that with the undoubted growth in wealth and importance of the gentry and higher commons, that class would have been in a position to act the part which the baronial party had hitherto taken. But several causes prevented the House of Commons

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from acting with independence. In the reign of Henry VI. the franchise had been narrowed. Till that time all freeholders had had the right of voting. The right was then confined to freeholders with the qualification of forty shillings. This at once brought the representation under the influence of the greater landowners and of the Crown. For party purposes this influence had been unscrupulously used. The representation was constantly tampered with. It is thus we find again and again the Parliament ready to subserve the objects of the party, and, instead of acting independently, merely sanctioning and registering the will of those who were at the moment masters of the Government. It was not until the time of the Puritans, until England had again felt under Elizabeth the impulse of national feeling, that the gentry found themselves sufficiently strong to step forward into the place left vacant by the destruction of the baronage. This new position they asserted in the reign of Charles I., and in the beginning of the Long Parliament, and finally made good in the Revolution of 1688. Thus, in the general depression of all classes, the monarchy was enabled to assume that personal character which it wore during the reigns of the Tudor Kings.

Measures for the repression of the Yorkists.

The first acts of Henry's reign were directed against the Yorkists. Edward, the Earl of Warwick, son of the Duke of Clarence, was imprisoned in the Tower, and all grants of Crown lands made since 1454 were recalled,—these of course having been chiefly given to followers of the House of York. Nor was Henry's dislike for the excluded House groundless. In 1486 there was an unsuccessful rising under Lord Lovel and the Staffords, and the following year took place the great imposture of Lambert Simnel. This young man, trained no doubt by some one of more influence behind the scenes, took advantage of the popularity which Richard, the great Duke of York, had secured for himself and his family during his government in Ireland. Personating the young Earl of Warwick, he betook himself to Dublin, where he gained the complete support of the Earl of Kildare, the Lord Deputy. Being joined by Lord Lovel, by the Earl of Lincoln, himself connected with the royal family, and by an army of 2000 men from Flanders under Martin Schwartz, he landed in Lancashire, and pushing forwards across England towards Newark, fell in with the King's forces at Stoke in Nottinghamshire (June 10), where his troops were entirely routed. Lincoln, Martin Schwartz, and others, lost their lives in the battle. Lord Lovel escaped. His body was discovered some centuries later in a secret chamber of one of his

Lambert Simnel. 1487.

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residences, where he had apparently taken refuge and been forgotten.

Alarmed perhaps by this sign of activity on the part of the Yorkists, Henry at length suffered Elizabeth of York to be crowned. It would seem from his delay that he was especially desirous of not in any sense reigning in right of his wife. But while thus in some degree softening the Yorkist opposition, he used the most stringent means to repress the party, and a Bill of Attainder was passed, including almost every important man who had been engaged in Simnel's insurrection. Moreover, to prevent the illegal habit of maintenance, which rendered unexpected insurrections very easy by placing a band of liveried adherents at once at the disposal of any discontented lord, a special court was established (subsequently known as the Court of the Star Chamber), having for its object the suppression of this institution, and which, consisting as it did of some of the chief members of the Council, strengthened by the addition of the judges, was enabled to reach those powerful nobles whom the weaker arm of the regular Law Courts might have been unable to touch. It is plain that the establishment of such a Court, though perhaps necessary for the maintenance of order, considerably increased the power of the central authority.

The expedients of the defeated party were however by no means exhausted. Claimants to the throne were so numerous that the explosion of one imposture only made way for another. In the beginning of the year 1492, a person, purporting to be the younger of the Princes popularly reported to have been slain in the Tower, made his appearance in Ireland, where he gained, as Simnel had done, considerable support. But on this occasion there was no premature action. He withdrew from Ireland, and sought refuge with the King of France, who acknowledged him as the heir to the English throne. Charles VIII. was at that time at war with Henry. It had been a principal object of his policy to unite Brittany with France. Already, in 1487, he had assaulted that country, and Henry had been called upon to give assistance to the friends who had sheltered him in his exile. Assistance was promised, and money was raised, but the money was kept, and the assistance never given. The same trick had been played in 1489, when Henry had promised his assistance to Anne of Brittany, whose father, Francis, the Duke who had protected Henry, was now dead. This time the army was sent, but with instructions not to fight. Disgust at this double dealing produced an insurrection in the North of England, in which the Earl of Northumberland, who

Perkin Warbeck acknowledged in France. 1492.

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had collected the money, lost his life. Neither such lukewarm assistance as Henry's, nor the more earnest efforts of Maximilian, King of the Romans, who was a suitor for her hand, could save Anne, who, in the year 1491, accepted the hand of Charles, and united Brittany to the French monarchy. This afforded Henry a fresh opportunity for raising a subsidy, to wreak his vengeance, as he said, on the French King. But the vengeance came to nothing; for, though a fine army crossed the Channel, it had not been there a week before a treaty with Charles was made. As might have been expected from the character of the King, this arrangement, known as the Treaty of Estaples (Aug. 1492), related chiefly to money, Charles binding himself to pay Henry £149,000. Henry's counsellors and advisers did not come out of the negotiation empty handed. One consequence of this treaty was the removal of the pretender Warbeck from the French Court.

In Burgundy.

He thence betook himself to the Court of Burgundy, and placed himself under the protection of Margaret, Edward IV.'s sister, who, as Dowager, held her dower lands in complete independence. By her he was fully acknowledged, and by her influence the King of the Romans (Maximilian), his son Philip the Archduke of Austria, the Duke of Saxony, the Kings of Denmark and Scotland, sent him ambassadors. Nor was he without powerful support in England. In 1494 several Lords were arrested on the charge of high treason and executed, among them Sir William Stanley (January 1495), one of the family who had secured the throne for Henry; his great wealth escheated to the Crown. In 1496, Henry's diplomatic skill succeeded in removing the pretender from Burgundy. But meanwhile he had made an unsuccessful descent upon the coast of Kent, when 169 prisoners were taken, and all hanged,—an instance both of Henry's determination to show no mercy to the Yorkists and of the little value in which human life was held, in consequence, partly no doubt, of the barbarous bloodshed of the last century. The treaty which expelled Perkin Warbeck from Burgundy was called "The Great Intercourse." For the last several years both countries had been suffering from the interruption of the commercial intercourse between England and the Netherlands. The present treaty was a broad and wise commercial arrangement, stipulating a reciprocal liberty of trading "in all commodities to each other's ports without pass or license," and mutual assistance and support in all commercial matters, such as the suppression of piracy and privateering. It marks an era in the history of international relations.

From Flanders, Perkin Warbeck, still hovering round England,

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took refuge with the King of Scotland, whose reception of him was more practical and chivalrous than that of any of his earlier protectors. He did not hesitate to give him his kinswoman Lady Katherine Gordon in marriage, and before winter declared war in his behalf with the King of England. The proclamation of Warbeck, however, in which he spoke of Henry as "Henry Tyddor, the false usurper," and explained his escape from the Tower, met with no response, and after wasting some districts in the North of England, the army withdrew. But Henry could not let such an opportunity slip. He at once demanded a large sum from his Parliament. It was not raised without difficulty. The Cornish men rose against it, elected as their leaders one Hammock, an attorney, and Joseph a blacksmith. They afterwards, on advancing to Wells, obtained the assistance of Lord Audley, who put himself at their head, and under his command pushed on to London, and were not checked till they suffered a complete defeat on Blackheath. The leaders were at once executed, but the bulk of the insurgents made their way back to Cornwall. To this discontented neighbourhood Warbeck, who had found it necessary to leave Scotland, betook himself. With a small following he landed at Whitsand Bay, and leaving his wife at St. Michael's Mount, found himself before Exeter at the head of 6000 men. His assaults upon that city failed, and one of his counsellors, who may well be suspected of being Henry's spy, deserted him. Bacon, in his history of the reign, speaks contemptuously of those who remained as "Sterne, a bankrupt mercer, Hulton, a tailor, and Astley, a scrivener." Desertions appear to have become frequent; and though a considerable force still kept together, their leader's courage forsook him, and he fled by night and took sanctuary in the Abbey of Beaulieu. He was there, in January 1498, surrounded, and having received a promise that his life should be spared, he left the sanctuary in a forlorn and comfortless plight. Without foreign assistance he had ceased to be an object of terror. He was allowed to move freely about London, but on attempting to escape, was placed in the Tower, after having read in public a full confession of his imposture. In this document he declared himself to be the son of John Osbeck, comptroller of the town of Tournay, and asserts that, while travelling as a servant, the people of Cork insisted on his being a Plantagenet. This would seem at all events to prove a very strong resemblance to that family, while the length of time during which he played his part, without, it

In Scotland. 1496.

Warbeck lands in Cornwall. 1497.

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is asserted, committing a single error, prevents an absolute dispersion of the mystery which hangs over him; for although careful inquiries were made, and witness taken to prove his base birth, they were so entirely in the hands of Henry's agents, that their depositions cannot be taken for more than an *ex parte* statement. In November 1499, Perkin and the young Earl of Warwick, whom he had met in the Tower, were both executed. The charges against them were that they had attempted to escape, and some witness, which looks like a forgery, was advanced to prove their treasonable intentions. It is possible that Warwick may have listened to the suggestions of Warbeck. It is certain that the Yorkist feeling was not dead, for another spurious Earl of Warwick had just been suppressed and executed, and it is possible that at the bottom of this execution lay the intrigues of Ferdinand of Spain, with whom Henry was now negotiating a marriage for his eldest son, and who might not unreasonably object to contracting his daughter to a Prince whose claim was insecure, and who might easily by a turn in the wheel of Fortune be an exile and a wanderer.

Is executed. 1499.

Having thus rid himself of the last dangerous pretender of the House of York, Henry found his position secure. He was enabled to spend the remaining ten years of his reign in completing those lines of policy the foundations of which he had been laying during the seven years of discomfort which Warbeck had caused him. At home he had in a great degree completed the work of establishing the royal power. The large subsidies which he had collected during the war with France, and again in James's attack on England, had been used but sparingly. His household was so economically managed that he lived within the income which Parliament had granted him for the purpose of keeping it up. His yearly expenses were somewhat over £12,000, the grant was £13,000. He thus found himself in a position to act without frequent recourse to Parliament, which met but three times in the last ten years of his reign.

Henry's good position.

Ireland, which had twice shown its devotion to the House of York, had been brought into comparative order by Sir Edward Poynings, acting as a deputy for Henry's second son, afterwards Henry VIII., at that time a child of four years of age. The Earl of Kildare had been apprehended and sent to England, and the Irish Parliament had passed the statute known as Poynings' Law, by which the country was much more closely connected with England. It was enacted that in future no Parliament should be held without

Ireland pacified. 1495.

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the King being officially informed of it; and that no Acts should be introduced without having previously received the approbation and license of the King under the Great Seal. After the passing of this Act a conciliatory policy was adopted, Kildare liberated and restored to his position, and the quiet of the country for the time secured.

The influence of the great nobles of the Yorkist party had received heavy blows in the unsuccessful rebellions of the reign; while to judge by the story of the heavy fines exacted from the Earl of Oxford for receiving the King attended by a crowd of liveried servants, even the Lancastrians were not exempt from the severe enactments against maintenance, nor free from that legal tyranny which Henry, in common with most rising despots, employed as the chief instrument to secure his power.

Foreign policy.

Secure at home, he now sought to complete his alliances with foreign countries. The idea of a marriage which might ultimately bring Scotland and England under one crown was a traditional one with English politicians. In the earlier part of his reign, Scotland had been in the hands of James III., a man, unlike the uncultivated nobility around him, a favourer of artists and architects, but a poor soldier, and with a leaning towards the English alliance. His rough nobility could not put up with such crimes. They set up against him the claims of his young son, who was afterwards James IV.: the rival factions met at Sauchie Burn; and the King, as he fled from the battle, was thrown from his horse, and murdered at Beaton Mill, whither he had been taken after his fall. Thus placed upon the throne by the anti-English party, James IV. was not likely to maintain his father's policy. None the less did Henry continue negotiations; and, in 1495, he had urged upon the new King a marriage with his daughter Margaret. The opportunity afforded by the arrival of Warbeck was not neglected by James; but, after two destructive incursions into the Northern counties, he had been induced, chiefly by the intervention of the Spanish ambassador, to get rid of Warbeck, and to enter into a seven years' truce with England. The Spanish influence was sufficiently strong to carry the negotiations to a conclusion, and, in 1502, perpetual peace was established, and all the arrangements for the marriage completed. A year and a half afterwards the Princess went to Scotland, and the match was consummated.

Marriage of James IV. with Margaret.

Influence of Spain.

It was a change in the position of Europe which had induced the Spanish government to use its friendly influence on behalf of Henry. The recovery of France after the

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English invasions, and the rapid consolidation of the monarchy, had made it an object of dread to other nations. Henry was therefore inclined in the earlier part of his reign, as we have seen, to oppose it. At the same time he could not enter frankly into alliance with Burgundy, where his antagonists the Yorkists had met with their chief support. The lukewarm and inefficient policy of his earlier years was the consequence. But the invasion of Naples (a country on which Aragon had just claims) by Charles VIII. had produced in an especial manner hostility between France and Spain; and Ferdinand had determined to form a combination to check the further advance of the threatening power. In fact, the lengthened rivalry between France and the Austro-Spanish house was just beginning. His plans embraced a close union with the Burgundian house, friendship with England, and the withdrawal of Scotland from her old alliance with France. A sure ground for a more determined line of foreign policy was thus laid for Henry. By allying himself with Ferdinand, he assured himself against the danger of further support of the Yorkist interest on the part of Burgundy. For by the marriage of Ferdinand's daughter Joanna with the Archduke Philip, Maximilian's son, Spain and Burgundy had become closely united. When therefore Ferdinand, in pursuance of his own plans, proposed a marriage between his daughter Catherine and the Prince of Wales,

Marriage of Prince Arthur.

Henry received the offer gladly. The negotiations for this marriage continued from 1496 till its completion in 1501. The dowry of the Princess was to be 200,000 crowns. One half of this was paid, when, early in 1502, Prince Arthur died. Ferdinand thus ran the risk of losing the friendship of England, and through England that of Scotland. He at once suggested the marriage of Catherine with Prince Henry, who succeeded his brother as Prince of Wales. The necessary dispensations were procured, but each of the crafty and avaricious monarchs thought it well to have a means of exerting some pressure upon his fellow; while Henry could threaten to forbid the match, Ferdinand could refuse to pay the remaining part of the dowry. Thus the marriage remained unfinished till the death of the King.

The death of Henry's wife in 1503 gave him fresh opportunities for strengthening his position in Europe and drawing closer his connection with the Austro-Spanish house. He first sought the hand of the Dowager Queen of Naples, but speedily transferred his suit to Margaret of Savoy, the sister of Philip the Fair, Duke of Burgundy, the husband of Joanna of Castile. An additional advantage in connection with

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this marriage was to be the surrender of Edmund de la Pole, head of the Yorkists, at that time a refugee in Flanders, to which Henry compelled Philip to consent during an enforced delay in England, whither he had been driven by a storm. He further proposed a match between his daughter Mary and Charles, the child of Philip and Joanna, who was afterwards the great Charles V. In his desire for immediate gain he overreached himself. Isabella of Castile was dead, and Ferdinand had assumed the regency of that country for his daughter Joanna and grandson Charles, Philip, Duke of Burgundy, having meanwhile died. Eager to secure the immediate enjoyment of that kingdom, Henry threw up all chance of his marriage with Savoy, and of the future grandeur of his daughter Mary, and himself sought the hand of the widow Joanna, although she was imbecile and totally unfit to be married.[1] Nor was it till after a year, during which the weakness of her mind increased, that he could be induced to believe that his suit was hopeless. He died before any matrimonial plan could be perfected.

Political schemes of matrimony.

His last years were marked in England by a rapacious use of the means the law put in his hands. His agents, the chief of whom were Empson and Dudley, at once filled the royal coffers, and extended the royal authority, by the revival of obsolete penal statutes, and by an unjust employment of the royal right of escheat. When a state escheated to the Crown inquiry was made as to the facts before a jury. By a judicious selection, and the bribing of jurymen, the escheaters were generally able to make out a case in favour of the Crown. It was therefore with a feeling of relief that England heard of Henry's death; although it cannot be denied that his sagacity, his economy, and even the less amiable qualities of pitilessness and love of authority, had secured for England that rest from internal dissension which was so much required, had placed the country in a good position with regard to Europe, and set it upon that natural road of progress which the new birth of freedom and industry in the century that was passing away had rendered necessary. Feudalism had come to its last days, the spirit of industry and commercial enterprise was rising, a new nobility of statesmen had sprung into existence. It remained for his son to complete the destruction of the second great phenomenon of the middle ages—the Church.

Exactions of his later years.

His death. Retrospect of his work.

[1] This seems so inconsistent with his usual prudence, that, as Ranke suggests, his request for the hand of Joanna may have been only intended as a means to check the urgent demands of the Spanish Court for the completion of the marriage between Catherine and the Prince of Wales, which Henry had no wish to see consummated.

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HENRY VIII.

1509—1547.

Born 1491 = 1. Catherine of Aragon, 1509.
|
Mary.
= 2. Anne Boleyn, 1533.
|
Elizabeth.
= 3. Jane Seymour, 1536.
|
Edward VI.
= 4. Anne of Cleves, 1540.
= 5. Catherine Howard, 1540.
= 6. Catherine Parr, 1543.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Scotland.	*France.*	*Germany.*	*Spain.*
James IV., 1488. James V., 1513. Mary, 1542.	Louis XII., 1498. Francis I., 1515.	Maximilian I., 1493. Charles V., 1519.	Ferdinand, 1479. Charles V., 1516.

POPES.—Julius II., 1503. Leo X., 1513. Adrian VI., 1522. Clement VII., 1523 Paul III., 1534.

Archbishops.	*Chancellors.*
William Warham, 1503. Thomas Cranmer, 1533.	William Warham, 1502. Cardinal Wolsey, 1515. Sir Thomas More, 1529. Sir Thomas Audley, 1532. Thomas Wriothesley, 1544.

HENRY VIII. had some peculiar advantages in his favour. He in a certain sense represented the two Houses whose rivalry had so long disturbed the peace of England, for, although the actual connection of Henry VII. with the Lancastrian princes was but slight, he had been acknowledged as head of the party, while Elizabeth was the accepted heir of the House of York. His personal gifts were not slight; even ten years later the Venetian Ambassador thinks him "as handsome as Nature could form him," and mentions that he was an excellent musician and composer, an admirable horseman and wrestler, and possessed of

Junction of the Houses of York and Lancaster.

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a good knowledge of French, Latin and Spanish. His success in athletic sports was very great, and the same writer tells us how he would weary ten horses in a day's hunting, and how people came to see him for the sake of his beauty, while playing bowls. Besides these outward graces, he was possessed of considerable knowledge of theology, to which his father had trained him before he was heir-apparent to the throne—a pursuit which, though perhaps of no great worth in itself, at all events tended to the training of his intellect. He accepted as his counsellors those whom he already found in that position. Archbishop Warham was his Chancellor, and Bishop Fox his Secretary; Surrey, with Shrewsbury, Somerset and Poynings, were all members of what may be termed his ministry.

His first step was to complete his marriage with Catherine of Aragon. For six years the dispensation necessary to allow him to marry his brother's widow had been in England, but the marriage had been postponed, partly from a superstitious dread on the part of Henry VII., who conceived that Heaven had declared itself against the union,[1] and partly from money difficulties. It is perhaps worth noticing, in relation to the subsequent question of the divorce, that the young Queen, at this her second marriage, was dressed in white, with unadorned hair, as though a maiden, and not as a widow.

Henry's marriage.

The accession of a popular monarch of necessity brought some popular measures in its train, and not long after his marriage Henry ordered the prosecution of his father's chief extortioners, Empson and Dudley. Although the use they made of legal quibbles deserves no less severe a name than extortion, it was found impossible to form of any number of instances of such extortions a capital charge, and recourse was therefore had to a trumped up story of a threatened conspiracy for carrying off the King. On this charge they both suffered death. This trial gives an early instance of the way justice was administered throughout this reign. Both these criminals were attainted in the Parliament, attacked that is by Bill, and not by process of law. They had however both been convicted in the law courts before the Bill of Attainder was passed. Indeed few of those who fell under suspicion, or were brought to trial during this reign, escaped unconvicted. This was owing probably to the necessary subserviency of a nobility, resting upon the Crown, and to the pressure which Henry VII.'s

His first measures. Prosecution of Empson and Dudley.

[1] This feeling arose from the untimely death of some of his children.

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Council Court, and Henry VIII.'s Council, or, as it is often called, Star-Chamber, could bring to bear upon too honest juries.

The King having won popularity by these three acts,—the retention of the better members of his father's Council, the completion of his marriage with Catherine, and the punishment of the most hated of his father's financial agents,—found himself in a position to follow his personal inclination, and to plunge into the difficult intricacies of European politics, and a European war. Italy was the point where at this time the interests of politicians centred. Louis XII. had followed the example of his predecessor, and had sought to win glory in that country which Comines calls the burialplace of the French. Meanwhile, amid the petty states of Italy, the cold consistent policy of the aristocratic Republic of Venice had raised that power to a great pre-eminence. Leaving her home among the islands, she had won considerable territory on the mainland, and had even laid her hand on some portions of the States of the Church. The Papal throne was at that time occupied by Julius II., a man who, if he were not a good Churchman, was at least an ardent Italian, and who, a soldier and a statesman rather than a prelate, was bent upon two great objects—the curtailment of the encroachments of Venice and the expulsion of all foreigners from the Italian peninsula. Under his influence the famous League of Cambrai was set on foot. It included the Emperor, the Kings of France and Spain, the Duke of Burgundy and the Pope, and its avowed object was an assault upon the Venetian power. Against such a league Venice could do but little, and a very few defeats on the mainland convinced her of the wisdom of throwing over all that she possessed in Italy, and of retiring within her ancient limits. Having thus made use of the strength of these foreign countries to rid himself of his domestic enemies, the Pope now aimed at winning his higher object of clearing Italy of the foreigner. For this purpose he picked a quarrel with the King of France by attacking his ally the Duke of Ferrara. Although unable to withstand the French in the field, he yet contrived to show himself so formidable, that Louis, among other efforts for his destruction, summoned a council at Pisa, thus giving Julius an opportunity to raise the cry that the Church itself was threatened, and to establish for his own support a Holy League. Of all the Princes who joined this League Henry VIII. was probably the most disinterested. Maximilian of Germany was desirous of winning Milan, which the French had occupied (claiming it through

Henry engages in European politics. 1511.

Holy League. 1511.

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Valentine Visconti, the grandmother of Louis XII.). Ferdinand of Spain aimed at Navarre, which was in French hands, while the Pope expected to clear Italy of its barbarian conquerors. Henry alone had no apparent interest in the quarrel. The chivalrous love of glory natural to his age, and to one so personally gifted, combined with a sincere wish to uphold the Papacy, which his early theological training had strengthened, were the chief motives for his adhesion to the League. But there was also a desire, perhaps as yet undefined, of preserving the balance of power. This notion—the creation of Italian statesmanship—had begun to spread among European statesmen, and, with its varied consequences of good and evil, has held its place among them till the present time. It is interesting to observe, however, that there was a sharp discussion in the King's Council as to the wisdom of the war; a considerable number of the King's advisers urging, as they might urge now, that if aggrandizement was to be sought, Providence had marked out the way for us, namely the sea. This difference of opinion, as to whether England should aim at European connections, or confine itself to the natural development of its advantages as an island, will be found henceforward at the bottom of all party differences with regard to its foreign policy.

In the following year, the operations of the League were begun. An English army was despatched to co-operate with Ferdinand in the South of France, while the war was carried on with vigour by the Papal and Spanish armies in Italy. The English, who were under the Marquis of Dorset, found themselves used as a cat's-paw by the Spanish King, who objected—and perhaps by strict military rules he was right—to any advance beyond the frontier till Navarre had been secured. When this had been done, wholly to the advantage of Ferdinand, the English army, weary of waiting, had become disorganized. The garlic and the hot wine of the Peninsula had attacked its health, and Dorset, in dudgeon, brought back his men to England, to Henry's grievous disappointment. Nor were our maritime efforts much more successful. An indecisive battle was fought off the coast of Brittany, where, though the great French ship the "Cordelier" of Brest was burnt, the "Regent," the largest British ship, perished with it, while the French fleet made good its retreat into Brest. In Italy, where, under the fiery guidance of the young Gaston de Foix, they had at first carried all before them, before the year was over the French had been entirely worsted. A victory they had won at Ravenna had cost them dear; they had there lost their intrepid commander, and had since that time been continu-

English army in South of France. 1512.

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ally driven backward before the Swiss in the Pope's pay, till Julius could boast that he had indeed freed Italy from the foreigner. He died, however, early the following year, and was succeeded by Leo X., a man of literary and artistic tastes, and of a more pacific disposition. The strength of the coalition was thus somewhat relaxed, but Henry refused to think of peace, and arranged a combined attack with Maximilian, to be directed on this occasion along the usual line of assault from Flanders. The King, with Lords Shrewsbury and Herbert for his generals, crossed the sea with 25,000 men. Maximilian met him with a considerable body of horse, and refusing all command, flattered him by an offer to serve under him as a volunteer. His wisdom and experience were very necessary to the young English King. The combined army formed the siege of Terouenne. Once it was revictualled by a gallant dash of 800 men, each carrying across his saddle a sack of powder and a piece of bacon. They threw their burdens down at the gate, and made good their retreat through the English. A second great attempt was made to victual and relieve it. Maximilian, with his cavalry, moved forward to check the advancing enemy, while the main army was formed in support. The French soldiery, veterans from Italy, were seized with one of those panics to which the soldiers of that nation seem subject, and ten thousand of them fled headlong before the advance of a very inferior body of the allies, while their officers, striving to rally them, were taken prisoners. This curious panic the French christened "the Battle of the Spurs." This victory brought with it the fall of Terouenne, and subsequently the English captured the important town of Tournay.

The English attack France by Flanders. 1513.

Battle of Spurs. Aug. 16.

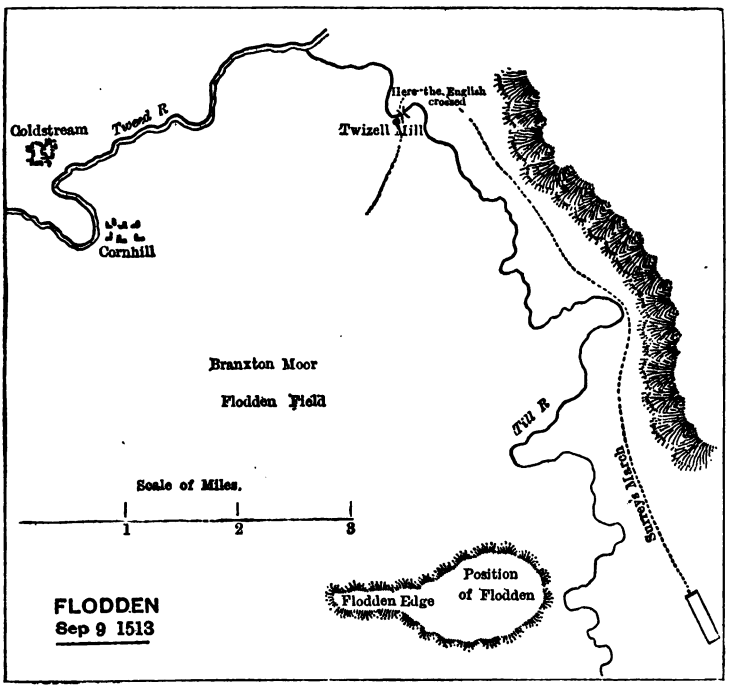
While the English King was before Terouenne, he had received an embassy from the King of Scotland, James IV., who, it will be remembered, was his brother-in-law. French intrigues, and the long-standing alliance between the nations, had induced James to entertain the idea of a breach with England. Causes of complaint were not wanting. There was a legacy due from Henry VII.; Sir Robert Ker, the Scotch Warden of the Marches, had been killed by a Heron of Ford, and the murderer found refuge in England; Andrew Barton, who, licensed with letters of marque against the Portuguese in revenge for the death of his father, had extended his reprisals to general piracy, had been captured and slain by Lord Thomas and Sir Edward Howard, and the Scotch King demanded justice for the death of his captain. To these questions, which had been long unsettled, an answer was now imperiously de-

Difficulties with Scotland.

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manded. Henry replied with scorn, and the Scotch King declared war. The safety of England had been intrusted to the Earl of Surrey, who, when James crossed the border, was lying at Pontefract. Without delay, he pushed forward northward, and challenging James to meet him on the Friday next following, came up with him when strongly posted on the hill of

England invaded. Aug. 1513.



Flodden, with one flank covered by the river Till, the other by an impassable morass, and his front rendered impregnable by the massing of his artillery. Ashamed, after his challenge, to avoid the combat, Surrey moved suddenly northward, as though bound for Scotland, but soon marching round to the left, he crossed the Till near its junction with the Tweed, and thus turned James's position. The Scots were thus compelled to fight. On the English right, the

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sons of Surrey with difficulty held their own. In the centre, where Surrey himself was assaulted by the Scotch King and his choicest troops, the battle inclined against the English; but upon the English left the Highlanders were swept away by the archers, and Stanley, who had the command in that wing, fell on the rear of the successful Scotch centre, and determined the fortune of the day. The slaughter of the Scotch was enormous, and among the number of the slain was James himself, with all his chief nobility.

Battle of Flodden. Sept. 9.

During the last year (1513) the war had thus gone decidedly against Louis XII. and his allies, and renewed incursions upon the French coast induced him to think of accommodation. Nor was the time unfavourable. The warrior Pope Julius had been succeeded by Leo X., a man of intrigue and of the arts of peace, while Ferdinand had already secured in Navarre the object for which he joined the League. Louis found no difficulty in appeasing Leo when he withdrew his countenance from the Bentivoglii, who were the Pope's chief enemies, and broke up the schismatic council which had been called at Pisa. Ferdinand, satisfied with his gains, had already concluded a truce. Henry had hoped that Maximilian would still stand by him, but the offer of Milan, as a dowry to Rénée, the daughter of Louis, upon her marriage with Charles of Spain, Maximilian's grandson and heir, gave Maximilian what he entered the League to win, and—never very rich—he was willing enough to withdraw from the struggle.

Dissolution of the Holy League.

Thus left to himself, Henry thought it well to make as good a bargain as he could, and consented to a peace in exchange for large payments of money (amounting to 100,000 crowns), which represented certain sums already due from former treaties, and ratified it by giving Louis his sister Mary in marriage. In fact, as far as his political object was concerned, he had succeeded. France, checked in Italy, no longer for the time threatened the European balance.

Peace with France.

Scotland, Henry's sole remaining enemy, was in no plight to continue the war. In the hope of pacifying the English, the Queen-Dowager, Margaret, Henry's sister, who in some degree represented the English interest in that country, was made regent. She seems, however, to have had the same turn for marrying as her brother, and on allying herself with the Earl of Angus, head of the Douglases, became so unpopular, that the French party, who still kept up their intrigues with France, contrived that the

Scotland after Flodden.

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regency should be taken from her, and given to the Duke of Albany (1515).[1] This Prince came over from France, where he was naturalized, and succeeded in getting the late King's children into his hands. Margaret sought refuge in England, where, after a time, Angus, who had been kidnapped and carried to France, joined her. They thus supplied Henry with an instrument by which he could carry on his intrigues in Scotland. The ill-fated marriage, which led to the misfortunes of Mary Queen of Scots, was the union of the two families of Margaret by her respective husbands, James and Angus.[2]

French interference in Scotland.

This attempt of the French to re-establish that influence in Scotland which the policy both of Henry and his father had been directed to destroy, naturally attracted the attention of Henry, and was made a cause of complaint at the French Court, with which, though the treaty still existed, there had already ceased to be cordiality. The gay and beautiful young English Princess had led her husband, always a valetudinarian, to change his habit of life. His dinner-hour had been moved from eight to twelve in the morning; his bed-time, usually six, had been sometimes advanced even till midnight. His health yielded to this change of life, and he died three months after his marriage. With him passed away the real strength of the treaty. His widow almost immediately married Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, the King's favourite companion and her own old lover, braving the royal anger, which seems on this occasion to have been slight, and afterwards founding a family with some claim to the throne.

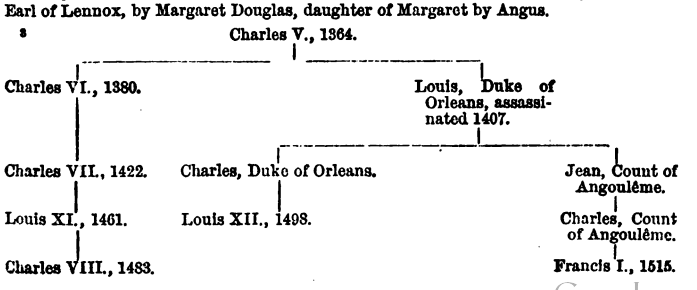
Death of Louis XII. weakens the treaty between the nations.

The new King of France, Francis I.,[3] who at his accession had been

[1] John, Duke of Albany, Admiral of France, was the son of Robert, Duke of Albany, the younger brother of James III., who had retired to France to escape from his brother, whom he had been opposing, in the year 1479. He was welcomed and assisted by Louis XI.

[2] Mary was daughter of James V., Margaret's son by James IV. Darnley was son of Earl of Lennox, by Margaret Douglas, daughter of Margaret by Angus.

[3]



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Count of Angoulême, a descendant of the younger son of Louis of Orleans, assassinated in 1407, as Louis XII. had been a descendant of the elder son, was a knight of that new chivalrous school which had taken the place of the real chivalry of the earlier middle ages, and which, while it inculcated the love of adventure and recklessness of its predecessor, did not exclude the slyness and self-seeking of Italian diplomacy. It seemed to him, therefore, as only consistent with his knighthood to reconquer the Milanese from Maximilian Sforza; so he assembled an army secretly at Lyons, without much scruple as to the means he employed for raising the requisite money, turned the position of the Swiss (at that time the most dreaded mercenaries in Europe), who were then lying at Susa, and poured his army by more southern passes into the plains of Piedmont. The Swiss had fallen back to cover Milan, but were defeated at the battle of Marignano (Sept. 13, 1515), which Trivulzio,[1] the veteran commander of the French army, spoke of as "the battle of the Giants," after which Milan was at once occupied by the French. This sudden restitution of French influence in Italy excited the attention of all Europe, yet Henry did not think that the capture of the Milanese alone compromised the relations of the European powers sufficiently to authorize him in plunging heartily into a war. He therefore contented himself with subsidizing the Emperor and the Swiss, and refrained from active participation in the war, although great efforts were made to secure his assistance. To gain the support of Wolsey, who had now become Henry's chief adviser, the Pope raised him to the rank of Cardinal; while, in the following year, Maximilian is said to have made a most extraordinary proposition. He offered to resign the Empire in favour of Henry, and, if the authorities are to be believed, made every arrangement for his coronation, and for a subsequent joint attack upon France. The wisdom of Henry and his advisers rejected this proposal, and Francis, having secured his object, was willing to make peace. A threatened advance of the Turks gave the required opportunity. This people, under Selim, had conquered Egypt and Syria, and was threatening Europe. Under cover of a peace for the purpose of opposing the Mahomedans,

[1] Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, a Milanese noble attached to the interests of France, and a marshal of that kingdom. He died in 1518 in disgrace, pleading in vain that he had fought eighteen battles for Francis I. and his predecessors. His tomb bears the inscription, "J. J. Trivultius, Antonii filius qui nunquam quierit hic quiescit—Tace."

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in the year 1518 a confederacy was made between England, France and Spain, by which they bound themselves to mutual support against any aggressor, though the aggressor were one of themselves; and thus the long and costly wars which had followed the League of Cambrai were closed by a treaty which left Europe nearly in the same position as before they began.

Peace, and confederacy between England, France, Spain. 1518.

While these wars had been occupying the attention of Europe, the position of chief adviser to the Crown in England had fallen to Thomas Wolsey. Of no high extraction, this able and ambitious man had sought to rise through the Church, which held out hopes of success even to the lowest born. He was educated at Oxford, became a Fellow of Magdalen, tutor to the children of the Marquis of Dorset, incumbent of Lymington, and in the earlier part of the century was made chaplain to Henry VII. Early introduced to public life by the Bishop of Winchester, he was employed, and did good service, in the negotiations which Henry entered upon with regard to a second marriage. He was rewarded with the Deanery of Lincoln, and his ability being appreciated by Henry VIII., he was shortly sworn of the Privy Council. The management of the war had fallen chiefly into his hands, and his rise became exceedingly rapid. On the capture of Tournay, he received the bishopric of that city. In 1514 he was made Archbishop of York, and in the following year, when Warham, the aged Archbishop of Canterbury, withdrew from the chancellorship on occasion of some difference in the Council, the vacant office was given to Wolsey. In 1515, Leo attempted to secure his services by making him a Cardinal, and the following year he reached the summit of ecclesiastical ambition, short of the Papacy itself, by being appointed Legate, with full powers, in England. This list of offices does not exhibit all his sources of wealth. He was in receipt of yearly payments both from Francis and from Charles of Spain. He held also the Bishopric of Bath, which he afterwards changed for the richer one of Durham.

Wolsey.

Made Legate.

It seems probable that this statesman had acquired his influence over Henry partly by similarity of tastes, and partly by industriously sparing him trouble. His great ability and untiring energy enabled him to do all that was necessary for the government of the country, freeing Henry from the restraint which the Privy Council might have exercised upon his

His means of securing his power.

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actions, and leaving him at leisure to indulge himself in those splendid amusements and pageantries in which he found his chief delight during the earlier part of his reign. Having once secured his position, however, Wolsey was by no means a minister without a policy. Of all classes in England the Church had been the least weakened by the long civil wars. The house of Lancaster had always favoured its interests, and during the reign of Henry VII. the chief offices in the ministry had been confided to Churchmen, who were the best educated men in England, and the instruments best fitted for carrying on the pacific policy of the King. To uphold this supremacy of the Church was Wolsey's primary object. It was for this that he lent himself to an ostentatious display of wealth and authority which would have been almost ridiculous had it had no object. His biographer is very full of his vast household of five hundred dependants, of his silver pillars and silver crosses; and an absurd description is given, on excellent authority, of how, when the Pope sent him his Cardinal's hat packed in the wallet of his ordinary courier, Wolsey provided the man with robes of rich material, and sent him back to Dover, to bring the hat up with all due ceremony, while trains of knights and bishops were sent to meet and welcome it. But he saw more clearly than most men the approach of the struggle which was to convulse Europe for the next hundred years. He was besides far too great a lover of justice and far too good a governor to wish to tolerate the abominable abuses which found their home in the monasteries. He was therefore bent upon forestalling the coming storm; but his desire was that the reform should be from within, and not from without the Church. To carry out these reforms was the main wish of his life, and it was to enable him to do so that he hazarded the breach of the well-known statute of Præmunire, and accepted the legatine authority which could alone give him power to act with effect against the monasteries, which were independent of the bishops. But besides being a Churchman, Wolsey was essentially an Englishman, and some of the apparent inconsistencies in his policy can be explained by the conflict of these interests. He was also undoubtedly ambitious, and eagerly sought the Papacy. But it is not improbable that his chief object in this pursuit too was the hope of carrying out on a grander scale the reforms which he had planned in England. Where the interests of the Church were not touched, his views, like those of most able

His policy.

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governors who feel themselves superior to the men around them, were very arbitrary; and he lent himself willingly to the views of Henry on this point, like him detesting disorder and anarchy, and like him thinking that the best form of government was that under which the ignorant should be coerced for their own advantage. Such a man was inevitably opposed to the interests of the nobles, whose party was represented in the Council by the Duke of Norfolk. Equally inevitably would he be disliked by the commonalty, and the literature of the time is full of the sharpest satires directed against him. The strength of his position was the favour of the King and the success of his policy. Should either of these fail his fall was inevitable. He had now entered fully upon an arbitrary career. From the year 1515 to 1523 no Parliament was called. The money which was constantly wanted for the wars was collected by forced loans and benevolences.

Arbitrary rule.

It was under the guidance of this minister that England entered into the new phase of European politics which followed upon the death of Maximilian in the year 1519. Ferdinand of Spain had died three years before, and had been succeeded in that country by his grandson Charles. This young prince, the son of the Archduke Philip, was thus already in possession of Spain and of the Netherlands, with some sort of hereditary claim to be elected Emperor of Germany. But Francis I. did not desire so powerful a rival, and determined to dispute with him the imperial crown. Henry, somewhat puffed up by the offer Maximilian had made him a few years previously, determined that he too would enter the lists, although there was probably never the remotest chance of his success. When the election came on, finding the success of his own employer impossible, the English ambassador threw the weight of his influence wholly into the German side of the balance, and Charles was elected Emperor; and thus Spain, Italy, the Netherlands, and the Empire were all in the hands of one prince. This contest somewhat slackened the ties of friendship between Henry and Francis; while, on the other hand, the help he had received led Charles to hope that he might secure the alliance of Henry. The friendship of England had become of paramount importance to these rival claimants for the supremacy of Europe; and as it was not yet apparently firmly secured by either of them, Francis determined, if possible, to attach

Death of Maximilian. 1519.

Henry a candidate for the Empire. Charles V. elected.

English alliance sought by both Charles and Francis.

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it to himself. He demanded therefore a personal meeting with Henry, in accordance with a clause in the treaty of 1518. This proposition ripened in 1520 into the magnificent meeting of the Field of the Cloth of Gold. The two Kings, vain of their persons and their acquirements, permitted and encouraged the most lavish expense on the part of their followers, and Francis had reason to believe that he had gained the friendship of Henry. But Wolsey's interest was already pledged. Just before Henry left England for his meeting with Francis, it had been contrived that Charles should forestall him, and have a private meeting at Canterbury. Nor was this all. No sooner were the festivities in the plain of Ardres over, than Henry visited his nephew Charles at Gravelines, and returned with him to Calais. There the outlines of a great alliance were sketched, destined to bear fruit afterwards. In this matter Wolsey had completely succeeded in his schemes. It was to the interest of Charles, and not that of Francis, that England found itself pledged. Nor was an opportunity long wanting to prove this. The rivalry of Francis and the Emperor soon led to a breach of the peace between them, and Francis, taking advantage of the disaffection of parts of Spain, pushed his army across the Pyrenees. At once, in virtue of the great treaty of 1518, it became Henry's duty to side with the aggrieved party. To settle which that might be a court of arbitration was established at Calais, where Wolsey, with great pomp, examined into the quarrel with apparent fairness. He took an opportunity, however, of visiting the Emperor at Bruges, and, almost immediately after, his judgment was pronounced against the French, and Henry found himself, as he had intended, bound to help the Emperor.

Field of Cloth of Gold. 1520.

Henry prefers alliance with Charles.

It was Wolsey's belief in the superior efficacy of the support which the Emperor appears to have distinctly promised him at Bruges, in the event of a new election to the Papacy, to that of Francis, which induced him to attach himself so definitely to the Emperor's interests. But he could have had no difficulty in persuading Henry, jealous of the French King's fame as knight and gentleman, or the people whose woollen trade depended in a very large degree on their friendship with Flanders, to prefer an alliance with Charles. The Emperor was to marry the Princess Mary, and the two nations were to make common cause against Francis. In all directions the new allies

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were successful. Even the Milanese was won from the French, while Parma and Placentia fell before the Papal troops. The Pope lived just long enough to see the success of his schemes, and died, it is said, from a fever produced by excessive joy. Wolsey saw the object of his ambition within his reach; but in the conclave, as neither he nor his rival, the Cardinal de Medici, had an overwhelming majority, the parties united to elect a third candidate, and Adrian of Utrecht, Charles's tutor, a learned and studious man, was raised to the Papal chair.

To paralyse the strength of England, Francis, who, on Venice joining the confederacy against him, found himself absolutely alone, attempted to excite disaffection in Ireland and Scotland. In Ireland, where disaffection was chronic, and where the insurrection was to depend on a French army which never arrived, no great change was effected. In Scotland, since Albany's retirement in 1516, and the return of Angus and the Queen, there had been a stormy period, chiefly occupied by the feuds of the Douglases and Hamiltons. Angus had, however, on the whole, kept his leading position. To destroy his influence, which was favourable to England, the French King induced Albany to return with a large army and threaten the Scotch borders. He was, however, hoodwinked by Lord Dacre, the English Warden, who, though he had scarcely any troops at his disposal, so imposed upon the invaders by the high tone which he assumed, that they were glad to accept a month's armistice at the hands of a man who was entirely in their power. An invasion, repeated in the following year, was defeated by the Earl of Surrey without any severe fighting. "Undoubtedly," writes the commander, "there was never man departed with more shame or more fear than the Duke has done to-day." It was Albany's last appearance in Scotland. Unable to secure the regency, he retired from the country, where Angus ultimately succeeded, with the assistance of Henry, in establishing himself as Regent. The consequence was a peace of eighteen years between the countries.

Francis tries to excite Ireland and Scotland. 1522.

Albany being worsted, peace for eighteen years is made. 1523.

In both 1522 and 1523, under the command respectively of Surrey and of Suffolk, expeditions had been undertaken by the English in conjunction with the Imperialist forces. Suffolk's expedition reached as far as Mondidier, and it was expected that the combined armies would press on to the capital; for an opening had offered by which Henry thought it not improbable that

Expeditions against France.

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he might succeed in making good the old English claims upon France. Francis had quarrelled with the Constable of Bourbon, the most important of his subjects, who had declared his intention of seating Henry on the throne, and believed it certain that a large number of the French would join him. About the same time (September 1523) Adrian IV. died, and it seemed as if the plans both of Wolsey and Henry would at length be realized. But the discovery of his treachery compelled Bourbon to take to flight, and it was alone, without any of the party he had expected to assist him, that he fled from the French Court and took service under Charles. At the same time the election to the Papacy had not been managed as Wolsey had hoped. Julius de Medici, Clement VII., had been elected, and Wolsey, enraged at the disappointment of his hopes, grew suddenly lukewarm in the war. The English troops, already weakened by sickness, withdrew from Mondidier, and were disbanded; nor did England during the next year take any active part in the war. Wolsey, indeed, in his disappointment, entered into relations with the Court of France, and a peace between the countries was virtually established. Meanwhile, even the withdrawal of the English failed to check the course of French disaster. Although the army entered the Milanese territory, it could not succeed in holding its ground beyond the Ticino. The following year (1524) brought upon it the whole forces of the Imperialists. It was defeated near Romagnano, where Bayard lost his life. It was compelled to evacuate Italy, and the triumphant Constable, with his fellow-commander Pescara, pushed into France as far as Marseilles. To revenge this insult, Francis again, for the third time, poured his army over Mont Cenis. Again was Milan captured. The new Pope, Clement VII., even sided with him, and in October the siege of Pavia was formed. To relieve it, early in the following year the united armies of Pescara and Bourbon marched from Lodi. The battle fought before its walls was a decisive one. The defeat of the French was signal, their career in Italy was for a time closed. Francis himself fell into the hands of the conquerors.

Francis defeated at Pavia. 1525.

This victory was the signal for a complete reversal in the state of politics in Europe, and brought to light the change in Wolsey's views which had followed the election of Pope Clement. In London it was at first hailed with unqualified joy, and Henry thought for a moment that the hour had come for him to re-vindicate the English claims to the French crown, so much so that he wrote

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to Charles by the hand of Wolsey, and proposed a scheme for the invasion of France, of which the crown was to fall to him, and to pass afterwards by means of his daughter and heiress Mary, betrothed to the Emperor, to Charles V. himself, or his descendants, who would thus become monarchs of the whole of Europe. But such a total subversion of the European balance did not suit Charles, who was also induced by other causes to hold aloof from too close an alliance with England. Several incidents had produced a coldness between him and his uncle. He found that his betrothed bride, Mary, had been offered to more than one crowned head besides himself, while her youth, for she was only ten years of age, rendered the whole scheme distant and problematical. By some awkward mistake his ambassador's letters had been opened in England. He knew the French envoy to be constantly resident there. Moreover he felt himself strong enough to do without Henry's help. He therefore entirely declined the English proposal. On the other hand, Henry, when once his plans were coldly received, saw more than one reason for changing his alliance. He was in want of money; an alliance with France held out hopes of a goodly sum. According to his theory of the balance of power, it was time to check the overwhelming superiority of the Empire. Perhaps, more than all, he had Wolsey at his elbow, whose views, since his own rejection for the Papacy (on the death of Adrian, when Clement VII. was elected), and since the alliance of the Papacy with France, had undergone considerable change. It was ambition, partly personal, partly of a nobler sort and aiming at the reform of Christendom, which had rendered Wolsey so anxious for the Papacy. Though, as far as he was concerned, that hope was gone, he was still true to the cause of the Church, and when, in the years following the battle of Pavia, he saw the Imperial arms turned against Rome, till in the year 1527 the sacred city itself was stormed and sacked by the German and Lutheran landsknechts of Bourbon, it was difficult not to believe that the cause of Charles was the cause of the enemies of the Church; and that to join with Francis in upholding the Pope was the right policy for the true Catholic. With this mistaken view England entered into a close alliance with Francis, but it was not till the year 1528 that war was declared against Charles.

Sack of Rome. 1527.

Consequent change of English policy. Alliance with France.

Events had taken place in that period which were to revolutionize England. In carrying on negotiations with France one means of

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uniting the kingdoms which had been suggested was a marriage between the royal houses. The Princess Mary, it was thought, might marry one of the sons of the French King. This treaty was set on foot at the close of 1526, and early in its progress the Bishop of Tarbês had raised a question as to the Princess's legitimacy. From the first Henry had not much liked the marriage with Catherine. It was only at the urgent desire of his councillors, and after his father's death, that he consented to marry her. Nor had the marriage been a very successful one. Several children had been born, but one only, the Princess Mary, had lived; and probably the domestic relations between the King and Queen were not of the happiest. The continuation of the dynasty was naturally one of Henry's chief wishes, and to the councillors by whom he was surrounded, who had found their safety and greatness in the support of the reigning line, and who longed before all things for a permanent rest for England after the troubles of the late wars, it was a matter of the last importance that the succession should, if possible, be undisputed. But had the King died without male issue, there was a cloud of pretenders who could hardly have settled their respective claims without an appeal to the sword. Henry had, indeed, rid himself of two of them. Richard de la Pole, surnamed the White Rose, had died at Pavia. His brother had been beheaded by Henry. Buckingham had also suffered death in 1521, charged with some apparently slight matters, intercourse with astrologers, or hasty words, which may have covered some deeper plan. But in the place of Pole the head of the true Plantagenets was now the Countess of Salisbury, the sister of the Earl of Warwick, who had been put to death by Henry VII.; and Buckingham had bequeathed his claims to the Duke of Norfolk with his daughter. The Marquis of Exeter might raise claims to the throne as the grandson of Edward IV; the Duke of Suffolk was Henry's own brother-in-law, while the King of Scotland was the son of Henry's sister. Reasons of state, therefore, combined with Henry's own wishes to excite in his mind a conscientious scruple as to the legitimacy of a marriage, the dissolution of which might give him at once a more agreeable wife and an heir to his throne. Nor were reasons of foreign policy wanting. In an age when marriage was so constantly the tie of national connection, Catherine, whose marriage with Henry had at first been the pledge of the alliance with Spain, stood in Wolsey's way now that he was bent upon using all his efforts against the Emperor. Those therefore who were desirous for the sake of the succession that

Legitimacy of Henry's marriage with Catherine questioned.

The state of the succession.

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a divorce should take place, found a willing assistant in the minister. For Wolsey thought he saw in the King's wish for a divorce a means of carrying out his own policy; not only would it enable him to break more thoroughly with the Emperor, but it exactly suited his views with regard to England.

Disaffection towards the Church of Rome had been of long standing in England. The reckless use of the power which the weakness of John had placed in the Pope's hand had early excited the anger of the English. Wicliffe's reform had been only the greatest of several efforts in the same direction, and, though his doctrinal reform had been premature, the laity had shown every disposition to appropriate his feelings of dislike to the hierarchy; and motions were even made in Parliament for the confiscation of Church property for national purposes. The Lancastrian princes had been throughout consistent supporters of the Papacy. Some writers even assert that Henry V.'s expedition was undertaken for the purpose of diverting popular attention to other objects. The Wars of the Roses had stopped all thoughts of reform, and, as we have seen, the Church was never so prominent as in the reign of Henry VII., and in the first years of his successor.

Progress of the Reformation in Europe.

Nevertheless, the undercurrent of lay feeling never ceased to flow. The same causes had been more or less extant throughout Europe. Encroachments on the temporal authority of princes, zeal in demanding dues, combined with laxity of morals, and the change which had come over the Papacy, as the head of the Catholic Church degraded himself by degrees to the position of an intriguing Italian prince, had shaken the hold of Rome upon men's minds. The great schism had afforded opportunity for the Church to declare its independence, and the supremacy of councils over the Pope. The skill of the Roman Pontiffs had rendered the declaration nugatory, but the idea was still prevalent in Europe. The Council of Pisa had been but an effort to carry it into effect; and the general spirit of opposition to the Papacy had lately found expression throughout the whole North of Europe. It was in 1517 that Tetzel, a Dominican Friar, was appointed under the Elector of Mayence to sell indulgences through Saxony. The object for which the money was raised was the completion of St. Peter's at Rome. At that time, Luther, a young Augustinian, was Professor at the Elector of Saxony's new University of Wittemberg. Filled with anger at this crying abuse, he drew up ninety-five theses on the nature of indulgences, and fixed them on the great door of the Church of Wittemberg. The controversy at once be-

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came bitter. Luther was defended by Frederick of Saxony, who valued him highly, and could ill spare him from his University. The circumstances of Germany, more especially the unfortunate connection between lay and spiritual jurisdiction in the persons of the great ecclesiastical Electors, tended to dispose men's minds to the new doctrines. The invention of printing, and the revival of Greek literature, which had doubtless fostered among the Humanists, as they were called, or followers of humane letters, a certain freedom of thought, were also favourable to it. It became imperative for the Pope, not without some tincture of humanism himself, to pronounce upon the matter, and, in 1520, Leo X. published a bull against Luther by name, pronouncing him excommunicated if he did not retract in six days. Luther assembled the inhabitants of Wittemberg, and burnt the bull outside the walls. In 1521, at the Diet of Worms, efforts were made to move Luther to retract, but they were vain. He was ordered to quit the city, with a three weeks' safe conduct, and on his way home was captured by the order of his friend the Elector of Saxony, and detained for his own security in the Wartburg. Since then his views, or those like them, had been constantly spreading. Zwinglius had established the reform in Switzerland, and Munzer, carrying Protestant doctrines to their extreme political consequences, had excited the Thuringian peasants to a terrible outbreak.

Wolsey's policy.

It is not to be supposed that such a movement would have been kindly looked on by either Henry or Wolsey. Henry had himself written against Luther, and received from the Pope the title of Defender of the Faith. With Wolsey the preservation of the old religion became the chief object to which his policy was directed. Conscious of the abuses, of which the English Church was full, he saw that there was no hope of withstanding the flood of the Reformation without internal reform. Twice in the previous reign something had been done in the way of inspecting the monasteries, but on neither occasion effectually. It was to secure power for the more effectual carrying out of this object that he had sought the legatine authority. He had even suppressed a certain number of the smaller monasteries, employing their revenues for his great Cardinal's College at Oxford, and his school at Ipswich; and the prosecution of these reforms was very near his heart. When his credit was leaving him, he expressed his willingness to retire from the world, if only he could see the manners and customs of the country reformed.[1] Again it was with the intention

[1] Legrand, vol. iii. p. 165.

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of upholding the Papacy that he had changed the whole policy of England, and was now working as hard and as anxiously to unite France, England and the Pope, as he had been seven years before to unite England and Germany. He thought an opportunity had arisen to attach Henry for ever to the Papal See by the strongest ties of gratitude. He never for a moment dreamed that the Pope would refuse a divorce. He seems almost to have pledged himself to Henry that it should be secured. But he was treading on dangerous ground, and indeed his sagacity was on this occasion misled. He could not think of Charles, the sacker of Rome, the gaoler of the Pope, in any other light than as the enemy of the Church. He did not recollect the effect that so present a terror might have upon the Pope's conduct. But the Pope was in fact scarcely a free agent. The French influence in Italy was absolutely gone;[1] and Charles bravely upheld the cause of his aunt Catherine. The Pope, in spite of his dangerous position, had gone so far as to send Cardinal Campeggio to open in company with Wolsey a commission of inquiry into the King's marriage with Catherine. He had promised that the commission should not be revoked, but that sentence should be pronounced. The timely discovery of a paper, probably forged, which seemed exactly to suit and make good a supposed flaw in the dispensation of Pope Julius, which had been made the legal ground on which the divorce was to rest, saved the Pope from the completion of his promise. The cause was summoned back to Rome, and Campeggio returned from England, leaving the question unsettled.

Favours the idea of a divorce.

Indeed, before this final step was taken, Wolsey had discovered his error. For him the divorce meant a marriage alliance with the French. But the King's mind had already turned in quite a different direction. The object of his attachment was Anne Boleyn, one of the Queen's maids of honour. She had gone to the Court of France with Mary, Henry's sister, and had remained there with different Princesses till after the battle of Pavia. Her beauty, and her French airs and graces, made her the reigning belle of Henry's Court. Now the family of this lady, whose grandfather had been a rich citizen of London, had since been closely connected with the Howards, who, as the head of the lay nobility of England, looked with hatred at the powerful position which Wolsey had won. The triumph of Anne Boleyn would in

Its failure causes Wolsey's fall. 1529.

[1] The French General Lautrec had indeed again attempted to secure Naples, but his army had faded away before the malaria and plague.

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fact have been the complete victory of Wolsey's rivals in the Council; it was impossible that he could desire such a step. The departure of Campeggio was the signal for Wolsey's fall. Danger was closing him in on all sides. His plan had crumbled in his hand; it had given an opening for his lay opponents in the Council; he had failed to please the King; and he had no popularity on which to fall back. His government indeed could scarcely have failed to make him unpopular.

It had been a time of almost incessant war, and war invariably means heavy taxes. But in this case the taxes had not even been legal. From the year 1515 to the year 1523 no Parliament was called. Between 1523 and 1528 there had again been no Parliament. During the whole of that time, with the exception of the year 1523, money had been collected by means of forced loans and benevolences; and an idea may be gained of how these impositions were managed by what took place in 1522. In that year an invasion of France was contemplated, and money had to be raised. Commissioners were sent to find out the annual rent of all lands and houses, and the value of all moveables. From London £20,000 was exacted as a temporary loan, and the citizens were afterwards required to certify on oath the real value of their property. This sort of inquisition was most distasteful to mercantile men, who urged that their credit was often better than their capital, and Wolsey consented to take their returns secretly. The obnoxious character of this tax was somewhat lessened by the promise that the proceeds, which amounted to about a tenth from the laity and a fourth from the clergy, should be paid from the next subsidy granted by Parliament.[1] The difficulty found in collecting it rendered a Parliament necessary the following year. Sir Thomas More was elected Speaker. Wolsey demanded in the House no less than a fifth part of every man's goods and lands, setting the value at £800,000. The discussions which followed show at once the great ignorance which existed as to the real condition of England, and the courage which marked even then the behaviour of the Commons with regard to their privileges; while at the same time we see how Government influence was brought to bear, and how little of real independence existed. It was held that there were forty thousand parishes in England, but in reality there were not fifteen thousand. The Cardinal was therefore urged to diminish his demands. He would not yield, and tried to overawe the House with

His unpopularity.

His heavy taxation.

[1] Hall's Chronicle, ed. 1809, p. 645.

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all his ecclesiastical pomp. "It should not in my mind," said the Speaker, "be amisse to receave him with all his pompe, his maces, his pillers, his poleaxes, his crosse, his belt, and the great seale too."[1] His attempt was unsuccessful. After much argument, Wolsey was surprised at receiving no answer, and was met by the assertion that, according to their ancient liberties, they were not bound to give an answer; and More, on his knees, explained and proved to him that he had better withdraw. An eyewitness says that after this it was debated for sixteen days together. The resistance was so great that the House was like to be dissevered. "Thus hanging this matter, yesterday the more part being the King's servants, gentlemen, were there assembled; and so they being the more part, willed and gave two shillings of the pound of goods and lands. . . . I have heard no man in my life that can remember that ever there was given to any one of the King's ancestors half so much at one grant. . . . I beseech Almighty God it may be well and peaceably levied, and surely paid unto the King's Grace without grudge."[2] The mention here of the compact body of nominees and place-holders voting according to order goes far to explain the harmony which generally existed during the reign between the Parliament and the King.

Though this tax was collected with great strictness, and fell upon every person taking even weekly wages to the amount of twenty shillings a year, there does not seem to have been any formidable opposition; but such was not the case when, two years afterwards, an attempt was made to raise money without the consent of Parliament. The battle of Pavia had just been fought, and the opportunity seemed open to re-establish the obsolete claims of England upon France. For this purpose large sums were necessary, but both Wolsey and the King after their last experience shrunk from calling a Parliament. An illegal subsidy of a sixth was therefore demanded; but "the people sore grudgeth and murmureth," said the Archbishop of Canterbury, "and speaketh cursedly among themselves, saying they shall never have rest of payments as long as some liveth. . . . They fear not to speak that they be continually beguiled, and no promises kept unto them." The people in Suffolk "began to rage and assemble themselves in companies."[3] The Duke of Suffolk was for strong measures; but finding the gentry unwilling to assist him, he had to call in the assistance of Norfolk, who entered into intercourse with the insurgents, whose leader answered him: "Sith you ask who is our captain, forsooth his name is Poverty; he and his cousin Neces-

[1] More's *Life of Sir Thomas More*, c. xi. pp. 51, 52.
[2] Ellis' *Letters*, 1st Series, vol. i. p. 221. [3] Hall.

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sity have brought us to this doing." He then explained how the heavy tax, by depriving the wealthy men of their capital, had really fallen upon the artisans. Their complaints were so reasonable, that the Duke procured a relaxation of the tax. Henry threw the whole blame on Wolsey, and pleaded ignorance of its severity. The money was raised by way of benevolence.

It was natural that such arbitrary dealing as this should render Wolsey very unpopular. His sudden change of policy in 1525, when he seemed to be throwing over the Emperor, and destroying the market for English woollens in Flanders, and to be connecting the country with its natural enemy the French, increased his unpopularity. But not only was he unpopular; there was, as we have seen, a strong lay party in the Council strongly opposed to him. Thus, when the failure of his policy with regard to the divorce drew the King's displeasure upon him, when in fact, for almost the first time in his reign, Henry VIII. began to look seriously at what was going on around him, there was no lack of advisers to point out the shortcomings of the great minister; and when it was determined that he should be removed from his position, something analogous to a great change of ministry at present took place, only that the fall of the defeated minister was greater, the subversion of his policy and plans more complete. In fact, the turning-point of the reign was reached. Henry awoke to the fact that he need no longer trust to the Church for his counsellors, and fell back on the support of the nobility, who had been hitherto almost excluded from power.

Thus when, in 1529, on the 17th of October, Wolsey surrendered the Great Seal, Norfolk rose for a time to the position of Prime Minister, and set on foot what may be considered as a national and English policy. The Parliament was at once called, and attempts were made in it to bring the conduct of Wolsey under the head of high treason. Stripped of all his wealth, dependent for the little that he had on the bounty of Henry, Wolsey found among his servants Thomas Cromwell, who, as a member of the Lower House, was both able and willing to defend him. The charge of treason, resting entirely upon ecclesiastical assumptions, fell to the ground; but the Statute of Præmunire, to which Wolsey had made himself obnoxious by receiving the legatine authority, was allowed to have its course, and all his property was forfeited to the Crown.[1] The efforts of Cromwell were not unrewarded. Henry appreciated his honest ability, and at once took him into his service; and during the seven

[1] Wolsey subsequently withdrew to his Archbishopric, where his liberality and good administration were rendering him popular, when the charge of treason was again suddenly renewed, he was summoned to London, and died on the journey.

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years that followed—the most momentous in some respects of English history—whatever office he may happen to have held, he was always the representative of Government in the Lower House of Parliament, the leader and moving spirit of that body which was to establish the ecclesiastical freedom of the country. Rise of Cromwell.

Wolsey's efforts at staving off the Reformation had done nothing but render its advance more certain. The deep dissatisfaction with the Church, which had long been smouldering in England, broke forth. Its voice was no longer checked by the royal authority. But the royal authority had of late been the only support on which the Church could rely. In dread of threatened attacks from the nation, it had voluntarily allied itself closely with the Crown. When that support failed it, its power was gone. The King having now objects of his own which rendered him the friend of all who would assault the Church, allowed the national feeling free course. He even put himself at the head of the national party, who desired first the retrenchment of the power of the national Church, and, secondly, the independence of the country in matters ecclesiastical of the supremacy of the Roman See. The problem as yet had assumed but these two sides. A change of doctrine was hardly thought of. As was natural, it was the reform of the national Church, the abuses of which touched more nearly every man's life and home, which first occupied the attention of the Commons. The Reformation in England. At the very beginning of their session they presented a petition, in which, after complaining of the spread of heresy, they traced it to the errors of the Church, which they proceeded to denounce at length. Their chief complaints were directed against the independent legislation claimed by the Convocation, the number of officers, and the exorbitant fees of the ecclesiastical courts, the refusal of the Sacrament till certain sums had been first paid, the extravagant probate duties, the granting of benefices to children unfit to hold them, illegal imprisonment by bishops, and other irregularities. Upon this petition were based statutes, originating from Sir Thomas More, who had succeeded Wolsey as Chancellor, against excessive probate duties and mortuaries (or fees upon burial), against the clergy following any trade except their own, and to enforce residence and forbid pluralities. There was much opposition in the House of Lords, the Bishops being very loth to consent, but at length, after many discussions between committees of the two Houses, the King intervened, and insisted on the passing of the Bill. After this triumph, which, though it left the great question of the freedom of ecclesiastical jurisdiction unsettled,

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yet struck a heavy blow at the ill-gotten wealth and irregular habits of the clergy, Parliament separated (December 1529).

Question of the divorce renewed.

Meanwhile the question of the divorce had entered a new phase. No longer content with resting his claims on a technical irregularity in Pope Julius's dispensation, Henry now questioned the right of that Pope to give a dispensation at all between such near relatives. It is said to have been Thomas Cranmer who suggested this point, and who thus attracted to himself the attention and favour of the King. The advantage to be gained by this new question was, that it would of necessity, inasmuch as it had reference to his own power, pass out of the Pope's hands into that of a council. Henry was thus appealing to the world against the Pope's hesitation, and this line of conduct was continued,—again it is believed at Cranmer's suggestion,—when it was determined to collect the opinions of all the universities of Europe. This process was carried out with abundance of bribery and intimidation on the side both of the English King and of the Emperor, who was now his open opponent. It resulted in an uncertain decision, about half the universities giving their opinion in Henry's favour. Curiously enough the Lutherans, who might have been expected to support him—recollecting perhaps his early feats of theology,—gave their opinions against him.

Attack on the Church in Convocation.

Before the Parliament again met, in January 1531, Convocation was informed that, by acknowledging the legatine authority of Wolsey, the whole clergy had laid itself open to the penalties of Præmunire, and that consequently all their property was at the King's disposal. From this awkward position they were offered, however, an opportunity of extricating themselves. As, no doubt, Wolsey's tyranny had been unpopular with the clergy, it must have seemed to them very hard that they should be involved in his ruin; and that so sharp a blow could be struck shows the great want of sympathy which existed between the clergy and the laity. So palpable an act of oppression could scarcely have been tolerated had it not been popular. The alternative offered to the clergy was a payment of £118,000,—a vast sum if we remember that we may safely multiply the money of that day by ten to bring it to its present value. Nor was this all. In the preamble of the Bill by which the subsidy was to be granted, they were obliged to give the King the title of Head of the Church; not that Henry had as yet determined to break with Rome, but that, as head of the national party, he was determined that the civil power should be superior to the ecclesiastical.

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The Parliament, which had held its second session in the beginning of the year 1531, had done little beyond strengthening the King's hands in his struggle with the clergy. It was prorogued with a speech from Sir Thomas More, declaring the opinions of the universities with regard to Henry's divorce. This seems to have been the first time that he brought the matter before Parliament, but he now thought it well to set himself right in the eyes of the people, especially as the nation was in great excitement, and the clergy everywhere uttering the strongest denunciations against his conduct. The Nun of Kent, of whom more will be said afterwards, had already begun her prophetical impostures, and the superstitious feelings of the whole people were deeply moved. The separation of the King and Catherine gave a centre round which these vague feelings could collect, and a dangerous discontented party began to be formed. Early the following year (1532) the Parliament, in their third session, continued their war with the clergy. Benefit of clergy had come to be an intolerable nuisance. Any one who could read was held by that talent to have proved his connection with the clergy, and could be withdrawn from the hands of justice, to be treated with ridiculous leniency by the ecclesiastical courts; so that, as the Act to limit it asserts, "continually, manifest thieves and murderers, found guilty by good and substantial inquests, ... were speedily and hastily delivered and set at large by the ministers of the ordinaries, for corruption and lucre." An Act was passed forbidding any one under the degree of subdeacon to plead the privilege of his clergy if proved guilty of felony. The Court of Arches was also reformed. The Mortmain Act had forbidden corporations to hold property left to them by will. But this prohibition had been constantly evaded; testators had left property to support a priest to pray for their souls in perpetuity. This evasion, by which property had passed, though indirectly, into the hands of the Church, was now checked, and no will of this description was to hold good for more than twenty years, which was supposed to be long enough for the purpose.

and in Parliament.

While these reforms of the national Church were being carried out, that Church itself set on foot the second stage of reform by an attack upon the power of Rome. However much the clergy may have pillaged the laity, and however much they may have derived assistance in so doing from their connection with Rome, they had themselves, as the natural and submissive subjects of the Pope, been unmercifully pillaged in their turn. They now suggested the abolition of *annates*, the payment, that is,

The Church becomes national.

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of the first year's income of benefice or see to Rome. This would have cut off a large source of income from the Pope. Less hasty than the clergy, the Commons passed a Bill for the abolition of annates, but only conditionally. It was held *in terrorem* over the Pope. The clergy went a step further. They at length surrendered that independent position for which they had struggled from the time of Anselm, and acknowledged that they could not legislate without the consent of Parliament. Thus, though without any direct assumption of the name, Henry had become Head of the Church. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction and ecclesiastical legislation were both subordinated to the temporal power, and the Church, although retaining the Catholic doctrine, had become a national or Anglican Church. Unable to see such a change without protesting, Sir Thomas More resigned the chancellorship, and was followed out of office by Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, who very shortly afterwards died. His office was given to Cranmer.

But although the King had not completed the Annates Act, nor determined to proceed to extremities with Rome, he had been taking steps which rendered the final breach inevitable. On Queen Catherine's withdrawal, and indeed before, he had openly entertained Anne Boleyn in his palace; and now he was determined that she should be accepted into the circle of crowned heads. He wished to show the Pope, too, that his views were shared by the French King, and that he did not stand alone. A pompous meeting was therefore arranged to take place at Calais, to which Henry was to take Anne Boleyn with all the state of a Queen, and where they were to be met and entertained, not by Francis alone, but by his sister, the Queen of Navarre, for the express purpose apparently of showing that the relation between him and Anne Boleyn was recognized. The meeting took place, but without such effects as Henry had desired and expected; for Francis was persuaded, after all, to side with the Pope, and Henry found himself unsupported in his quarrel. He resolved, however, that he would no longer be cajoled, and, in January 1533, was secretly married to Anne Boleyn. This act was followed by the publication on the church doors of Flanders of a threat of excommunication from the Pope. In presence of this threat, and having now completed his marriage, the King could do nothing but proceed to the completion of his business. In the next session of Parliament an Act, called the Act of Appeals, was passed, declaring the sufficiency of the English Church to settle its own spiritual questions, and

Marriage with Anne Boleyn.

Separation from Rome.

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forbidding all appeal, in spite of spiritual penalties, to any court higher than the Archbishop's. This was intended chiefly to bar Queen Catherine's appeal from her English judges to the Court of Rome. The King acted upon it at once. Cranmer was authorized to proceed with the divorce. He held a Court at Dunstable, whither the Queen refused to go, denying the jurisdiction of the Court. Therefore the sentence of divorce was passed against her, as being contumacious, and the new Queen was admitted publicly to her royal rights by a splendid ceremony in London. Queen Catherine's conduct was throughout vigorous and noble, mingled with, perhaps, a little too much of passion. To Cranmer and to some counsellors, who were sent to tell her that she must relinquish the title of Queen, she showed herself firm and queen-like, refusing in any way to acknowledge a verdict which would not only rob her of the character of wife, but render her child illegitimate. It was not to be supposed that the Pope and Emperor would accept Cranmer's sentence. The divorce was at once declared illegal. This consistent opposition to the royal will produced fresh measures against the Pope in Parliament (1534). The Annates Bill was declared completed. All other forms of tribute to Rome were abolished; the election of Bishops was arranged without the interference of the Pope; and, finally, if he did not consent to the King's wishes within three months, the whole of his authority was transferred to the Crown.

But Cromwell, who was the leading spirit in all those measures, and who was hurrying both King and Parliament faster probably than they knew or wished, had not produced these sweeping changes without causing much dissatisfaction. Queen Catherine had become a centre round which all reactionary elements gathered, and these elements were very powerful. There was still a strong party connected with the royal House of York, consisting of Nevilles, Courtenays, and the descendants of the Duke of Clarence, who were not without hopes of undermining the vigorous usurper; while in all directions the Church was willing, by fair means and foul, to excite and forward any plans which should check the career of its heretical conqueror. The dangerous uneasiness which pervaded England was disclosed to Cromwell by means of innumerable spies, with whom he had flooded the country; and suspicions of even more than general uneasiness were excited, and began to point towards the Nun of Kent as the centre of a reactionary movement. This woman had been a

Catholic and dynastic opposition.

The Nun of Kent.

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servant in the family of a Kentish clergyman, in the neighbourhood of Addington. She had been subject to epileptic fits; and having been well taught in the rudiments of religion, during her paroxysms gave utterance to many moral observations. Such utterances could not come from the Devil; her fits must be connected with Divine agency. She was admitted to her master's table. Other churchmen were called to examine and approve of the miracle. They proceeded to turn it to their own advantage. Her natural fits ceased, but she was able to counterfeit them, and, carefully instructed beforehand by her spiritual guides, issued her prophecies during her hours of sham inspiration. These prophecies were collected in a book. Her fame was spread in all directions. As her words were all directed towards supporting the old Church, they were readily received by its well-wishers, and many names of great weight were numbered among her believers. She corresponded with Catherine and with the Emperor, and became, in fact, a dangerous power in England. It was thought necessary to apprehend her. She had prophesied the death of the King, and had declared him to be in the condition of rejected Saul. It was so plain that, although there was no overt act of treason, the tendency of all this was treasonable, and if treasonable, the ramifications of the treason were so wide, that Cromwell and the Council were thoroughly alarmed. The Nun and her accomplices were executed; the Nevilles and the Countess of Salisbury were examined, but though they appeared to be slightly implicated with the Nun, they were left uninjured for the present. Sir Thomas More and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who were known to be friends of the old state of affairs, were also declared guilty of the misprision of treason. More, upon apologizing, was pardoned, but Fisher, obstinately refusing to do so, was attainted and imprisoned.

The Act of Succession.

The fear which these disclosures had excited, and the hopes evidently existing in the Yorkist party, rendered the security of the succession of paramount importance; and as Anne Boleyn had lately given birth to a daughter (afterwards Queen Elizabeth), it was determined that the succession should be established by Parliament. An Act was therefore introduced (called the Succession Act), which declared the marriage with Catherine absolutely invalid, and the second marriage "true, sincere and perfect," and settled the succession upon the fruit of the second marriage. Whoever did anything to the prejudice of the Queen's marriage should be held guilty of high treason; whoever spoke against it of misprision of treason. The Act, once passed, became an instru-

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ment for testing the loyalty of the nation. Commissioners were authorized to administer, at the pleasure of the King, an oath to accept and support the new statute,—a step rendered the more necessary as the Pope had at length given sentence in favour of Catherine, and in consequence Henry had been excommunicated, and the execution of the excommunication had been placed in the hand of the Emperor. The peril of the King would be great if this foreign assault was supported by domestic treason. Among others More and Fisher were called upon to accept the oath. The statute they could accept; they were willing to promise to be true to the children of Anne Boleyn, but to the preamble declaring the nullity of the first marriage, and consequently denying the Papal authority, they had conscientious objections. Cranmer pleaded that they should be allowed to swear to the statute only, but Henry and Cromwell were inexorable, and they were sent to the Tower (April 15, 1534).

Imprisonment of More and Fisher.

Immediately after this the conditional abolition of the Papal authority was made absolute, and the King assumed the title of Head of the Church. It was not, however, enough merely to assume this title. Danger from the reactionists at home and abroad was becoming so pressing that some means of repression was necessary. The Act of Supremacy was therefore passed, which conferred upon the King the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England, coupled with another which rendered it high treason to question that title. This tyrannical Bill was worked in a tyrannical manner. No overt act was necessary; the refusal to answer questions when officially examined was held to be sufficient. The state of affairs was no doubt revolutionary; the Government was trying to carry out its reforms in the teeth of an unwilling nation, and there was danger of its whole work being undone; the House of Commons consisted too, no doubt, largely of place-men and followers of the Court; still, bearing all this in mind, it is difficult to understand how any Parliament could be brought to sanction so inquisitorial an Act. Its fruits were speedily apparent. The Monks of the Charterhouse, led by their prior, Houghton, when asked by their penitents in confession, declared their continued adherence to the Papal supremacy. They were selected as an example. The prior and many others of the monks were examined before the Council, charged upon the evidence there collected before an ordinary jury, and, as was the invariable consequence in this reign, convicted. Their society was entirely taken up, the greater part of its members

Act of Supremacy.

Consequent persecutions.

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perishing either on the scaffold or in prison. The next victims were still more important. Fisher and More had been in prison since they declined to swear to the Act of Succession. They were now required to accept the still more stringent Supremacy Act. The new Pope, Paul III., had sent Fisher in his prison the Cardinal's hat. This aroused the King's anger more particularly against him. He was at once brought to trial, and, declining to submit, was condemned and executed. Sir Thomas More's trial and execution followed immediately after. He was charged principally upon letters written to Fisher, and upon some conversations in which Rich, the Solicitor-General, had meanly engaged him. He refused in any way to move from his position; displayed during his trial much calmness and humour. When told, as a special instance of the King's mercy, that the coarser part of punishment for treason would be omitted: "God forbid," he answered, "that the King should show any more such mercy to any of my friends, and God bless all my posterity from such pardons." The short remainder of his life was marked by a pathetic meeting with his daughter, Margaret Roper, as he returned from his trial, and enlivened by a mixture of grave resignation and quiet humour almost as pathetic. In obedience to the King's commands, he abstained from speaking much on the scaffold. But even at the last moment, as he passed through the crowd, with his long beard, his lean, pale face, and carrying in his hand a red cross, he could not keep himself from his jest. "See me safe up," he said to the Governor of the Tower, as the scaffold ladder tottered, "in my coming down I can shift for myself." And even as his head was on the block, he moved aside his beard, muttering, "Pity that should be cut; that has not committed treason."

The death of a man so high in rank, and so well known for his learning, excited the anger of all Europe. Even Francis of France wrote a remonstrance to Henry. By the Pope the execution was answered by the publication of a Bull of deposition, bringing to its full completion the separation which had been working itself out for the last seven years.

The Bull of deposition. 1536.

The last session of the seven years' Parliament had now arrived, and Cromwell, who had been its moving spirit, and had reached the position of the King's Vicegerent in all ecclesiastical matters, passed on to the completion of his work. He determined to strike a blow at what was at once the weakest and most dangerous part of the organization of the Church. While the monasteries were only too open to attack on the score of morality, they supplied most of those preachers and con-

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fessors whose denunciations in the confessional excited and kept alive opposition to the new measures. In 1535, a commission had been issued to visit the lesser monasteries. There can be no doubt that the three Doctors, Legh, Leyton and Aprice, carried out their duties very effectively, very coarsely, and probably with a considerable amount of prejudice. It is, however, equally certain that there was an immense quantity of wickedness and immorality prevalent in the lesser monastic establishments which were free from the influence of public opinion. In the preceding reign visitations had been more than once attempted, and Wolsey had risked the consequences of Præmunire chiefly for the purpose of being in a position to reform the monasteries effectively. The authority placed in the hands of the commissioners on the present occasion was almost boundless. They discharged from their vows all the young monks and nuns, and, after making searching inquiries into the condition of the community, laid down a few simple strict reforms which were to be maintained; as, for instance, that the common table should be kept up; that the inmates should be instructed in the rule under which they were living; that valiant beggars should not be supported, and so on. In 1536, their report was ready. It was destroyed in the reign of Queen Mary, so that its exact particulars are not known; but it declared the existence of such wickedness in two-thirds of the monasteries and abbeys in England, that, after some debate, it seemed hopeless that a sufficient reform should be introduced, and the Act for the dissolution of the smaller houses was passed. The property of all monasteries having incomes of less than £200 a year passed to the Crown. The monks were either pensioned off or distributed among the greater monasteries.

Visitation and suppression of the lesser monasteries.

Having performed this work, the Parliament was dissolved. In its seven years of activity it had worked out a complete revolution. The whole position of the Church with regard to the laity was changed. Neither in its capacity of national Church, nor as a branch of the great Roman organization, could it longer tyrannize over men's minds and bodies. The Parliament had begun by laying hands on the unjustifiable extortions of the national Church. It had subordinated it to the royal authority, and, carried onward by the King's quarrel with the Roman See, it had withdrawn England from what was in fact a foreign thraldom, and had consummated its work by the destruction of that idle and debauched population which, by means of preaching and the confessional, had become, to

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the disgust of all right thinking men, the chief spiritual guides of the nation. The power which had been withdrawn from the Church was now centred in the Crown. The absolute position of the monarch was thus completed. The work begun by Edward IV. and carried on by Henry VII. was brought to consummation. The unity of the nation was perfected, and in both temporal and ecclesiastical matters its authority was vested in the Crown. Although Henry had not intended any doctrinal changes, and though none had as yet been authoritatively made, the spirit of the Reformation, by the very necessity of the position of the kingdom, had begun to act in England. Engaged in a similar work, though in a different direction, Henry had been driven more or less into intercourse with the Protestant Princes of Germany; and many of the more learned men of the time, numbering among them a considerable portion of the new Bishops, were strongly tinctured with German learning and with German Protestantism. Though the Reformation in England had been legal and political, while that of Germany was popular and conscientious, both had been compelled to find their standing ground in the authority of the Bible, as contrasted with the authority of the Pope. The approximation between the two was intended to be forwarded by a convocation held in 1536, in which, with the approbation of the King, ten articles were accepted, some of which were drawn directly from the Augsburg Confession,[1] and which declared that the Bible and the three Creeds were the sole authority in matters of faith, and that three Sacraments only were necessary. At the same time the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments were ordered to be learnt in English.

New Parliament. 1536.

It was not long before another Parliament was called, whose sad duty it was to ratify the judgment which had been passed upon that Queen whose interest had been so indissolubly connected with the growth of the Reformation in the preceding Parliament. Queen Catherine died on the 29th of January, and Anne Boleyn's triumph appeared complete. In the following month Queen Anne was disappointed in her expectations of a son. This may well have increased a coolness which seems to have been growing up between her and her husband for nearly a year. However this may be, in April a Committee of the Privy Council was examining carefully, but with perfect secrecy, some stories which seemed to implicate the Queen; and before the close of the month, Brereton, a gentleman of the household, and Mark Smeton, a musician, had been apprehended. The public explosion of the

[1] The profession of faith of the Protestant Lutheran Church, presented to Charles V. the Diet of Augsburg, June 1530.

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storm took place at Greenwich on the 1st of May, where the Court was holding its customary holiday. Lord Rochfort, the Queen's brother, and Sir Henry Norris, who were both afterwards executed, were among the tilters. The King rose suddenly and broke up the sports. There is a popular story, which relates that Anne dropped a handkerchief which was caught by Norris, an action which roused the King's anger. However this may be, the King took Norris with him to London, and on the following day the Queen was apprehended, as was also Sir Francis Weston. On examination, Smeton confessed to adultery, Norris was inveigled into a confession which he afterwards withdrew. Meanwhile, the Queen was taken to her own lodgings in the Tower, where she consistently maintained her innocence, although much distressed and indeed hysterical. Lady Boleyn, her aunt, whom she disliked, and a Mistress Cousins were put in the room with her, and reported every word she said. If their reports were true, she confessed in conversation to certain flirtations with all of the accused gentlemen, with the exception of her brother, but probably to such flirtations only as might be expected from a lively young woman of French education at a not over-refined court. From her prison the Queen wrote a most touching letter to the King, declaring her perfect loyalty, but at the same time she says, "I never at any time so far forgot myself in my exaltation or received queenship but that I always looked for an alteration as now I find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your Grace's fancy, the least alteration I knew was fit and sufficient to withdraw that fancy to another object."[1] She also demanded a fair trial, pointing out that, if condemned, Henry would be free to follow "his affection already settled on that party for whose sake she was now as she was, whose name," she continues, "I could somewhile since have pointed unto, your Grace not being ignorant of my suspicion therein." A trial was granted her in the completest form, but held within the Tower. The commoners were tried by a commission, among whom were Norfolk, Suffolk, the Earl of Wiltshire, the Queen's father, Cromwell, and all the judges. Grand juries, consisting apparently of respectable men, found true bills both at Westminster and at Deptford. The indictment, for there was much more than hearsay evidence, accurately laid down the dates and circumstances of the crimes. Of course the commoners were found guilty. Indeed, the trial by the petty jury was in this reign little more than a

Trial and execution of Anne Boleyn.

[1] The authenticity of this letter is not quite certain.

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form. The Queen and Lord Rochfort were tried by twenty-six Peers, presided over by the Duke of Norfolk. They were both found guilty. The Queen was sentenced to be beheaded or burnt at the King's pleasure. Before she was executed, she had to undergo a final trial before Cranmer, and was by him declared divorced, apparently on the ground of a pre-contract which she is said to have mentioned to Cranmer in confession. The Earl of Northumberland, who is usually said to be the person with whom she was contracted, absolutely denied it. As her execution for high treason depended for its legality on her being the King's wife, and if she were not so became a mere act of revenge, it is probable that she made the confession hoping to avoid death. The history altogether is a difficult one, for it is hard to conceive that any counsellors, some of whom were of the highest position and renown, could have stooped so low as to forge the whole story. If this supposition can be held, the blame must probably fall on the King and on Cromwell, whose character in all parts of his life seems to have been that of an extremely faithful and extremely unscrupulous servant. Granted the creation of the story, the constant subserviency of Council, courtiers, and jurymen in this reign would explain its further progress.

Anne might well write that she could perhaps point unto a new object of the King's love. She died on the 19th of May, on the 20th the King married Jane Seymour, and the Parliament which met on the 8th of June—apparently for the express purpose of making a new law of succession—proceeded to do its work. "The King was conscious," said Audley, the Chancellor, "that he was obnoxious to infirmities, and even death itself," and that therefore it was desirable to arrange the succession. The offspring of Catherine had been already declared illegitimate; those of Queen Anne were henceforward to be so too. It was therefore enacted that an oath should be taken to uphold in the succession the offspring of the King's present marriage; to assert the lawfulness of the former marriages was high treason. At the same time, considering the uncertainty of issue, the King was allowed to name his successor by will—another of those extraordinary acts of servility to the Crown which makes this reign so remarkable. The immediate object was to enable the King to nominate his illegitimate son, the Duke of Richmond; a youth, as we may gather from Surrey's poems,[1] of great

Marriage with Jane Seymour.

1 "Prisoned in Windsor, he recounteth his pleasure there passed."—*Earl of Surrey's Poems*, p. 17.

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promise, and of whom the King was exceedingly fond. He, however, died almost immediately.

This bill completed the triumph of Henry's policy in England itself. He was now unquestioned head of Church and State. He was largely enriched by the property of the suppressed monasteries; allowed to name his successor, he was sure of being able to perpetuate in some way or other his dynasty; and he had gathered round him a circle of new men of undoubted ability, bound to himself by all ties of interest as well as gratitude. But this hour of triumph was in fact the hour of danger. The stirring events which had taken place in England had had their effect throughout Europe. With Francis I. Henry had continued to keep up as firm a connection as was possible with a king whose policy was so unfixed and selfish. But there was hanging over England the standing threat of an invasion by the Emperor, who, naturally attached to the interests of his aunt, Queen Catherine, had now become the champion of Christendom against the advancing Turks, and would have been glad to have united Europe in an assault upon heresy. Any attack from this quarter would have been ten times more dangerous if seconded by domestic insurrection, and in the winter of 1535-6 the peril of Henry's position was considerable. But the dissatisfaction which was widely spread in England, and the hopes of any descendants of the House of York, who after the late Act must have felt themselves excluded from all chance of regular succession, displayed themselves, fortunately for Henry, in disjointed outbreaks, which he could successfully combat.

Henry's dangerous position.

The first which he had to meet was in Ireland, where Richard, Duke of York, had left behind him a most favourable impression, and where both the pretended Princes of his house had in the last reign met with support. The condition of the country was then, as has so frequently been the case, a disgrace to the English Government. The children of the Norman conquerors had by a most unusual degeneration assimilated themselves to the conquered people. The English Pale, as that part was called where the King's writ ran, and which had originally been fenced off, as it were, by a string of strongholds, instead of including, as was once the case, a strip of some fifty or sixty miles in breadth from Dundalk to Waterford, was reduced to a tract about twenty miles wide, terminating on the coast just below the Wicklow mountains. Beyond these narrow limits, in spite of the frequently repeated efforts of the English Government, the Norman-English settlers had rapidly degenerated,

Insurrection in Ireland.

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had assumed the dress and wild disorderly manners of the native Irish, and were governed by the unwritten Irish laws known as the Brehon Laws. These, like other semi-barbarous laws, among other things allowed the commutation of murder for money payments. Naturally, districts where they prevailed were in a most disorderly condition. The most important of the great Norman nobles, who ruled beyond the Pale over great clans of degenerate Englishry, were the two great branches of the Fitzgeralds, headed by the Earl of Desmond in the South, and the Earl of Kildare nearer the English Pale; the De Burghs, who had even given up their noble Norman name, and now called themselves Burkes, in Galway and the West; and the Butlers, headed by Ormond, in the neighbourhood of Tipperary and Carlow. The native Irish, who after the Conquest had been driven to the hills, had during the Wars of the Roses found means again to push themselves forward, and O'Neills, O'Connors, O'Donnells, and O'Briens were pressing close up to the limits of the Pale. The whole of the English-Irish and Irish part of the country was a scene of the wildest anarchy. "There be sixty counties inhabited by the King's Irish enemies, where reigneth more than sixty chief captains, whereof some calleth themselves kings, some kings' peers in their language, some princes, some dukes, that liveth only by the sword, and obeyeth to no temporal person save only to himself that is strong. Also, in every of the said regions there be divers petty captains, and every one of them maketh war and peace for himself without license of his chief captain, ... and there be thirty of the English noble folk that followeth the same order, and keepeth the same rule."[1]

It is plain that to keep such a nation in order a very strong hand and an efficient standing army would be necessary, and it was a constant question with the English Government whether money enough could be spared for the purpose. Now and then, when things got very bad indeed, an efficient deputy was sent over, but usually a plan preferred was to attempt to govern this mass of disorder by the influence of some great Irish chief, who might be presumed to forget his disloyalty when acting as the King's viceroy. The office of Deputy had become almost hereditary in the hands of the Earls of Kildare. They were indeed almost the only chiefs in a position to occupy the office. Their rivals, the Butlers, might have been expected to have had the better claim, as they were the consistent friends of the English, and had constantly tried to check the advancing tide of barbarism, but the districts occupied by their clan were cut off

[1] Report of 1515, quoted in Froude.

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from Dublin by the territory of their enemy, the Fitzgeralds, and the Earls of Kildare contrived to make their tenure of the viceroyalty impossible by immediately organizing a revolt on their appointment. This policy they carried out indeed whenever anybody but themselves received the office. This audacity gained its object. Though they joined both the great Yorkist insurrections in the preceding reign,—though they were more than once summoned to England for their conduct, they invariably returned with renewed power and increased influence.

In 1520 the confusion had been at its height. Lord Surrey was sent over, and Kildare summoned to England. Surrey, hampered by temporizing policy, was ordered to try and bring the people to reason. But as usual his presence was a signal for universal outbreak. He urged the King to stricter measures, stating that with an army of 6000 men he could complete the work of conquest, but that that must be backed up by a large immigration of English colonists; if this was not allowed him, he begged to be recalled. He was recalled, and before three years were over, after an interlude of insurrection because Ormond was made Deputy, Kildare was reinstated in all his old offices. The wars in which England was engaged, at first with France and afterwards with the Empire, afforded opportunities for fresh treasons. His relative of the other branch, the Earl of Desmond, intrigued both with Francis and with Charles, and Kildare used his power to remove all the military stores and artillery from Dublin Castle to his own castle at Maynooth. Again was Kildare summoned to London. Again there was a fierce insurrection; Sir William Skeffington acted as adviser to the young Duke of Richmond, who was sent over as Viceroy, but he had been directed to act only on the approbation of the Earl of Kildare, who was thus again restored to power. There were left, however, Archbishop Allen, and another Allen, Master of the Rolls, clearsighted statesmen, who were attached to the English interest.

The completion of the divorce had, as has been already mentioned, placed in the hands of Charles V. the duty of carrying out the Papal excommunication. An invasion of England had become by no means improbable. Again did the Fitzgeralds open an intrigue with him. The danger was too great to be overlooked. Kildare was summoned again to London, had the audacity to go, and was at once thrown into the Tower; but he still found means to instruct his son, Lord Thomas, whom he had left as Deputy, to carry out his old tactics. He rode in arms to the Council, renounced his allegiance, and called upon the country to rise. Dublin Castle was besieged by his followers, and Archbishop Allen murdered in his presence, as he sought to cross to England.

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Skeffington was intrusted with the duty of re-establishing the King's authority. But he was old and slow; and had it not been for Ormond the English dominion would have been lost. Ormond held the Fitzgeralds in check till, in October, Skeffington reached Dublin. But his conduct even then was slow and dilatory. No great blow was struck. His army began to lose discipline, and it almost seemed as if the old weak system was to be pursued. At length, however, the Deputy was stirred to action, and in the beginning of 1535 Maynooth Castle was taken. Of thirty-seven prisoners, twenty-six were at once hanged. The effect of this vigorous action, which was called the "Pardon of Maynooth," was instantaneous. The rebellion was in fact at an end. But Lord Thomas Fitzgerald still refused to surrender, and held out in O'Connor's castle, in King's County. Lord Leonard Grey, who had come to take the command of the army, contrived an interview with him, and he surrendered. It is not clear how far he was allured by promises. At all events he surrendered, and was treated as though he had given himself up unconditionally. He was kept some short time in prison, and in the following year (1536) was hanged with five of his uncles at Tyburn.

Insurrection in the North.

With the death of Catherine some of the dangers which threatened England disappeared. It was no longer impossible that Charles should be reconciled to his uncle. As the year therefore passed, the chances of an insurrection in England became less, and the real opportunity for successful action on the part of the reactionary party was gone. But, perhaps because they felt that time was thus passing away, or because accidental circumstances led the way to an outbreak, the discontented party, before the year was out, were in arms throughout the whole North of England. Nor did this party consist of one class alone. For one reason or another, nearly every nobleman of distinction, and nearly every Northern peasant, alike joined in the movement. The causes which touched the interests of so many different classes were of course various. There was indeed one tie which united them all. All, gentle and simple, were alike deeply attached to the Roman Church, and saw with detestation the beginning of the Reformation in the late Ten Articles, and the havoc which Cromwell and his agents were making among the monasteries. In fact, the coarseness with which the reforms were carried out were very revolting. Stories were current of how the visitors' followers had ridden from abbey to abbey clad in the sacred vestments of the priesthood, how the church plate had been hammered into dagger hilts. The Church had been always more powerful in the North, and the dislike to the reforms was

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proportionately violent. But, apart from this general conservative feeling, each class had a special grievance of its own. The clergy, it is needless to mention—they were exasperated to the last degree.

Discontent of the nobles.

The nobles—always a wilder and more independent race than those of the South—saw with disgust the upstart Cromwell the chief adviser of the Crown. They had borne the tyranny of Wolsey, but in Wolsey they could at least reverence the Prince of the Church. They had even triumphed over Wolsey, and had probably believed that the older nobility would have regained some of their ancient influence. They had been disappointed. Cromwell, a man of absolutely unknown origin, and with something at least of the downright roughness of a self-made man, was carrying all before him. The gentry, besides that they were largely connected with the superior clergy, and suffered with their suffering, were at the present smarting under a change in the law, which deprived them of the power of providing for their younger children. By the common law it was not allowed to leave landed property otherwise than to the eldest son or representative. To evade this it had been customary to employ what are called *uses*:—that is, property was left to the eldest son, saddled with the duty of paying a portion, or sometimes the whole, of the rent to the *use* of the younger son. A long continuance of this practice had produced inextricable confusion. There were frequently *uses* on *uses*, till at length it was often difficult to say to whom the property really belonged. This difficulty had been met by the "Statute of Uses" in the preceding year, by which the holder of the *use* was declared to be the owner of the property, and for his benefit a Parliamentary title was created. At the same time, to prevent a repetition of the difficulty, *uses* were forbidden. Till, therefore, the law was altered a few years afterwards, the old common law held good, and, *uses* being impossible, gentry with much land and little money were deprived of all power of helping their younger children.

Discontent of the poor.

The lower orders were suffering principally from a change in the condition of agriculture in England, for which the Government could not be held responsible. There was a strong tendency to convert arable land into pasture. Complaints on this head are constant. Mercantile men also had begun to find that possession of land gave them influence irrespective of birth. Bringing the mercantile spirit with them to the country, they had worked their properties to the best advantage, regardless of the feelings of their tenants and labourers. The consequence was, that where in the old days there had been thriving villages, there were now in many

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instances barren sheep-walks, supporting only two or three men. The rest of the old inhabitants, uprooted from their connection with the soil, thronged the towns, or of necessity became dependent upon charity. They were suffering very deeply, and as usual attributed their sufferings to their governors.

Insurrection in Lincolnshire.

The insurrection broke out in Lincolnshire, at Louth. Thither Heneage, one of the clerical commissioners, and the Bishop of Lincoln's chancellor were going on their business on the 1st of October. It was rumoured that they intended to rob the treasury of the church. A crowd collected under the leading of a man who called himself Captain Cobler. The church was locked and guarded, the great cross fetched out by way of standard, and the whole township marched to raise the neighbouring towns and villages. The insurrection in Lincoln was essentially a popular one. It was on compulsion that the gentry joined it. There was a strong party for murdering them. They were in fact besieged by the populace in the Close at Lincoln, and quickly threw their weight upon the side of the Government. At Lincoln, during this quarrel between gentry and people, was a young lawyer, Robert Aske, who had been stopped by the insurgents, as he said, returning to his work in London. However this may be, he at once imbibed the spirit of the insurrection, and hurried off into Yorkshire, where he had interest, and where a rebellion of quite a different sort from that in Lincoln was quickly organized. The Lincolnshire rebels never came to open fighting. They sent a petition to the King from Horncastle, begging that religious houses should be restored, the late subsidy remitted, the "Statute of Uses" be repealed, the villein blood removed from the Privy Council, and the heretic bishops deprived.

The arrival of troops under Sir John Russell and the Duke of Suffolk was sufficient to cool the rebel ardour, and though they watched his progress sulkily, they did not absolutely oppose him. The ringleaders were given up and the insurrection dissolved. Suffolk had brought with him the King's very firm answer to their petition: "How presumptuous," he says, "are ye, the rude commons of one shire, and that one of the most brute and beastly of the whole realm and of least experience, to take upon you, contrary to God's law and man's law, to rule your Prince, whom ye are bound to obey and serve." He refused every request.

It was the duty of the great nobles in each county, under such circumstances, to call out the military force of the county to repress the insurrection. Lord Hussey, in Lincolnshire, had timorously

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held aloof and left the country. Lord Shrewsbury had gallantly taken his position at Nottingham. In Yorkshire this duty would have devolved on Lord Darcy of Templehurst, an old and tried soldier of both the late and the present King. His sympathies were, however, wholly with the movement, and, though Henry wrote to him to urge him to instant action, he threw himself with only twelve followers into Pontefract Castle, and there awaited the arrival of the rebels. These had rendezvoused on Weighton Common, and having elected Aske general, and having despatched a force to Hull, moved towards York. On the way they were joined by the Percies, with the exception of the Earl of Northumberland himself. York surrendered to them. They then advanced to Pontefract, which was unable to hold out against them, and Lord Darcy and the Archbishop of York speedily took the oath which was exacted of all whom the rebels met in their march. Lord Darcy henceforward became the leader of the movement, second only to Aske. Of opposition in the North there was scarcely any. Hull was taken, and the army of insurgents, kept under rigid discipline, moved onwards till they reached the river Don. Their army consisted of 30,000 men, "as tall men, well-horsed and well-appointed, as any men could be;" and they had with them all the nobility and gentry of the North. At Doncaster they found themselves face to face with Shrewsbury and Norfolk, well chosen agents for the purpose the Government had in view; for the rebels, claiming to uphold the rights of the old nobility and the old Church, here found themselves opposed by two nobles of the oldest blood and the strongest Catholic convictions in England. The rebels determined to treat, principally on the recommendation of Aske, who seems to have been really patriotic, and to have wished to avoid civil war. It was agreed that a conference should be held upon the bridge of Doncaster, and there a petition was intrusted to Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Ralph Elleskar to carry to the King, Norfolk agreeing to accompany them. Meanwhile, the rebel forces were disbanded. The King contrived to win over these emissaries to his party, but Aske continued his organizations; and when no satisfactory answer had been given by the close of November, he recalled his army to his standards, and again advanced to the Don. At Norfolk's earnest intercession the King at last agreed, against his own judgment, to grant a general pardon, and to call a Parliament, to be held almost immediately, at York. A conference between Norfolk and Aske was held at Doncaster, and Aske on his knees accepted the conditions, and threw aside the badge of the five

The Pilgrimage of Grace.

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wounds of Christ which had been assumed by the rebels. It seems certain that the rebels at the time believed that the whole of their petitions had been granted. It is possible that Norfolk, who had much sympathy with them, held out larger promises than Henry intended. The King's views at all events were not what the rebels supposed. He at once proceeded to organize the North, to establish fortified posts, and secure the ordnance stores. Norfolk was sent to Pontefract to make preparations for the coming Parliament. All this looked very unlike a favourable answer to the insurgents' petition. Still more were they disappointed when they found that, instead of a general amnesty, each individual had to petition for his own pardon, and received it only in exchange for the oath of allegiance. There was much natural disappointment and smouldering discontent. A man of little influence, called Sir Francis Bigod, contrived a disorderly rising in opposition to the old chiefs. This afforded opportunity for Norfolk to establish martial law, and seventy-four persons were hanged. Perhaps some new treasonable correspondence was discovered, and perhaps the opportunity for vengeance had now arrived, but without any very clear renewal of their offences, the three leaders of the old insurrection—Aske, Darcy, and Constable—were arrested (March). Discontented words could no doubt be proved against them, and on this the charges against them were chiefly based. They were all condemned and executed, as were also many others of the prominent gentry of the North. Nineteen of the Lincolnshire rebels were executed (July 1537). Of the three leaders, by far the most interesting is Aske. His popularity and influence were enormous, his power of organization seems to have been great, and there is visible in his whole career a genuine desire for the objects of the insurrection, apart from his own aggrandizement, which, coupled with his marked moderation and uprightness, renders him a very remarkable character.

The Pilgrimage of Grace, as the Northern insurrection was called, and its consequences, had not been over for three months when the event occurred which was to complete the edifice of Henry's success, to set at rest the vexed question of the succession, and enable his projects to be perpetuated. On October 12th, the Queen Jane gave birth to a son; but with this piece of good fortune was linked a great grief. Ten days after the birth of the prince, the Queen died. She had not been dead a day before the Privy Council begged the King to proceed to a new marriage, a request to which he yielded. "His tender zeal," says Cromwell, "to his subjects hath already overcome his Grace's disposition."

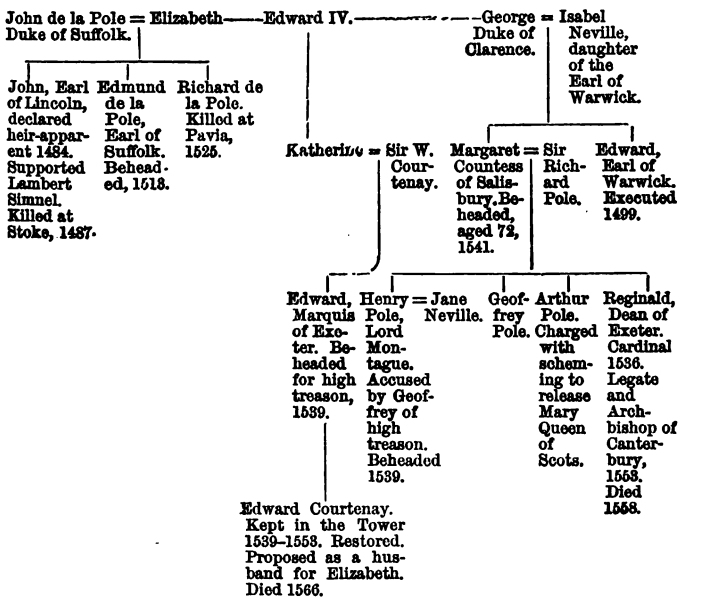
Birth of Edward VI.

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The birth of an heir, by apparently excluding all hopes of a natural succession to the throne on the part of any remnants of the family of York, seems to have excited them to more immediate action. There was a large family connection in the West of England, at the head of which was the Marquis of Exeter, the head of the Courtenays, and the grandson of Edward IV.

Lady Salisbury, the daughter of the Duke of Clarence, and mother of Lord Montague and of Reginald Pole, who was constantly intriguing on the Continent in Papal interests, was closely allied to the Marquis; while, on the other hand, she was closely connected with the Nevilles, the family of the great Earl of Warwick. Exeter, though he had joined in the suppression of the Northern insurrection, was a bitter enemy of Cromwell's, and that minister, when he found some traces of intercourse between the Marquis and Reginald Pole, was not slack in pursuing the clue. It seems that in Cornwall, at St. Kevern's, a banner had been ordered bearing the suspicious emblem of the wounds of Christ. The name

Insurrection in the West.



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of the Marquis was connected with this affair. It seemed to be intended to declare Exeter heir-apparent to the throne. There was another brother of the Pole family called Sir Geoffrey. Frightened at the turn affairs were taking, and implicated himself in whatever conspiracy there was, he denounced his brother and friends. On his witness, the Marquis of Exeter, Lord Montague, Sir Edward Neville, and Sir Nicholas Carew, Master of the Horse, were apprehended, and, after examination by the Council, executed for treason. In every instance the charge was based solely upon language used. Anything more different from the usual requirements for a charge of treason can hardly be conceived. Lady Salisbury was for the present spared. This closed the treasonable efforts of this reign. The King, aided by the secret system of Cromwell, had proved too much for all conspirators, and there remained scarcely any one of sufficient importance to threaten the succession of his son.

Reformation continued.

Almost contemporaneously with the Ten Articles, which animosity to the Papacy and political necessity had induced Henry to publish in 1536, each church had been supplied with a copy of the English Bible, a step indeed almost necessary when the Bible was regarded as the rule of faith. Up to this time the publication of English Bibles had been carefully forbidden. In 1526 Tyndale had completed the translation of the New Testament, which had been rapidly distributed in England among that class of which the Reformation had begun to take hold. Since that time the whole Bible had been translated and published. The Bishops were much set against it, but the King told them they had better make a more perfect translation themselves. In vain did Cranmer try to get this plan carried out, he ultimately had to employ Miles Coverdale to correct and arrange Tyndale's work, and a translation was published by authority. It was this edition which was ordered to be used in churches. Tyndale, whose work was the basis of our present magnificent translation, fell a victim to his religion, and was burnt at Augsburg, at the demand of the English Government.

Its very moderate character.

Dissolution of the greater monasteries.

The dissolution of the greater abbeys and monasteries had at length followed that of the lesser. Although confessedly not in the immoral condition of the smaller suppressed monasteries, there could not but be, inasmuch as they were strongholds of the old religion, much irritation amongst their inmates; while it was thus desirable that they should be destroyed, they were not open to the same violent attacks as the lesser monasteries had been. But it was found possible

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to put such pressure upon them as to produce voluntary surrenders, which increased extraordinarily in number now that the insurrections had failed, and the Government found itself stronger. In 1536-37 there were but 3 such surrenders; in the following year 24; in the next 174; in the next 76. The great popular relics and shrines were also destroyed. It was the usual habit to give to each abbot and monk of a surrendered house a certain income. These, however, were very far from absorbing the whole income of the abbey. The residue passed into the hands of the Crown. The work was completed in the Parliament of 1539, by an Act confirming the surrenders up to that time, and allowing the King to extend the Act to all monasteries yet remaining. Large property thus passed into the hands of the King, who issued a noble project for the employment of it for great ecclesiastical and educational objects. No less than twenty-one new bishoprics were to be founded, with cathedrals and chapters. They dwindled practically, however, to six, and the wealth was employed in the King's wars, and in his extravagant household, and the lands given or sold at low rates to the new rising nobility.

Though Cromwell and Cranmer had been thus far successful, they were now to meet with a severe check. The chief life and vigour of the Reformation resided undoubtedly in the poorer educated classes. It was among them that the Bible had met with its ready sale, and it was the exception for men of the wealthier classes to be otherwise than complacent in their religion. It was not therefore to be expected that the growth of the new religion should be free from eccentricities and coarseness. The disclosure of priestly deceptions, and the claim to a perpetual miraculous power in the Church, might easily excite derision, which would again easily sink to ribaldry. There were indeed frequent exhibitions of such a temper. The Sacrament was laughed at, and scurrilous jests made upon it and upon other parts of the old organization. This disorder was very repugnant to the King's disposition. Indeed, yielding to the pressure of circumstances, he had allowed the Reformers to go further than he really approved. The separation from the Church of Rome, the absorption by the Crown of the powers of the Papacy, the unity of authority over both Church and State centred in himself, had been his objects. In doctrinal matters he clung to the Church of which he had once been the champion. He had gained his objects because he had the feeling of the nation with him. In his eagerness he had even countenanced some steps of doctrinal reform. But circumstances had changed; he was, in the first place, no longer in danger from Charles;

The Reformation checked.

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and secondly, the national feeling was no longer unanimous; thus much he had learnt from the Pilgrimage of Grace, and to that portion of the nation which desired no change belonged almost all the nobility. Without detriment to his position he could follow his natural inclinations. He listened therefore to the advice of the reactionary party, of which Norfolk was the head. They were full of bitterness against the upstart Cromwell, and longed to overthrow him as they had overthrown Wolsey. The first step in their triumph was the Bill of the Six Articles, carried in the Parliament of 1539. These laid down and fenced round with extraordinary severity the chief points of the Catholic religion at that time questioned by the Protestants. The Bill enacted, *first*, "that the natural body and blood of Jesus Christ were present in the Blessed Sacrament," and that "after consecration there remained no substance of bread and wine, nor any other but the substance of Christ;" whoever, by word or writing, denied this Article was a heretic, and to be burned. *Secondly*, the Communion in both kinds was not necessary, both body and blood being present in each element; *thirdly*, priests might not marry; *fourthly*, vows of chastity by man or woman ought to be observed; *fifthly*, private masses ought to be continued; *sixthly*, auricular confession must be retained. Whoever wrote or spoke against these five Articles, on the first offence his property was forfeited; on the second offence he was a felon, and was to be put to death. Under this "whip with six strings" the kingdom continued for the rest of the reign. The Bishops at first made wild work with it. Five hundred persons are said to have been arrested in a fortnight; the King had twice to interfere and grant pardons. It is believed that only twenty-eight persons actually suffered death under it.

The Six Articles.

All this time, almost two years, the King had remained unmarried, and each party was eager to secure for a representative of its own interests the position of Queen. Cromwell's eager spirit of party got the better of his prudence, secured the triumph of his rivals, and was the cause of his own destruction. He had been intrusted with the duty of seeking a new consort for the King. Approaches towards friendship with the Emperor had been made for some time previously; the first lady thought of was the Duchess of Milan, his niece; but when a treaty was concluded at Nice between Charles and Francis, with the approbation of the Pope, in which Henry was not mentioned, this scheme was broken up once for all. Room was thus left for Cromwell to carry out his own wishes by connecting Henry with the Protestant Princes of Germany. He pitched

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upon the daughter of the Duke of Cleves, and, though warned of her want of beauty, he wilfully deceived the King upon that point, and went so far as to employ Holbein to paint a falsely flattering picture. The marriage was arranged, and the Princess brought with great pomp to England. Her homely German habits somewhat scandalized the admiral who was bringing her over, when she insisted on his bringing some friends with him to dine with her. "She much wished," she said, "to see how Englishman ate." She was brought to Rochester on New Year's Eve. The King, who had heard much praise of her beauty, and wished to do something lover-like, came there incognito with his Master of the Horse to see her. Sir Anthony Browne went to warn her that the King would visit her. He was never, he said, "more dismayed in his life" than when he saw her. The King followed close upon him. He was so shocked with her appearance that he could not bring himself to remain with her more than twenty minutes, and forgot to take the present he had prepared for her out of his pocket. It is true that there were some drawbacks to intimacy, as neither knew a word of the other's language. Henry was much hurt at the trick, for he considered it nothing else, that Cromwell had played upon him. He felt sure that he could never bring himself to live comfortably with his wife, and he at once tried all methods of getting rid of her. He listened with eagerness to a whisper of a pre-engagement, but her assertions on this head rendered that plea hopeless. He did not venture to repudiate her at once, and it was this which rendered Cromwell's share in the affair so odious to him. It would not do to offend the Protestant Germans, and throw them into the arms of Charles. He therefore, full of anger, consented to the completion of the marriage.

Marriage with Anne of Cleves. 1540.

Cromwell took his opportunity and set on foot a treaty with the Elector of Saxony, the Duke of Cleves, and the Landgrave of Hesse. He asked Francis to join it, which would have rendered it too strong for the Emperor. Francis disclosed the plan to Charles, who thus became still more hostile, and being acquainted with the plans of England, could tamper with and withdraw from the treaty the German Princes. Cromwell's plan, for which he had risked Henry's displeasure, fell to pieces, and Henry was uselessly linked to his ugly wife. The minister's position was one of great difficulty. In his reforming career he had quarrelled hopelessly with the Peers; a new and self-made man, he had lorded over them without restraint. He was somewhat ostentatious of his

Consequent fall of Cromwell.

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wealth, and was brusque and rude in his manner of dealing with them. His preponderance had become almost unbearable. His religious tendencies were well known. The passing of the Bill of the Six Articles was a distinct triumph over him. It was easy to make the King believe that in spite of it he would move forward in his old direction. Henry's jealousy was always easily stirred, and when, as now, he was thoroughly irritated with his minister on other grounds, it was probably enough to hint that he was inclined to be a rebel against the royal authority. The conspiracy answered. Cromwell was arrested at the very Council table. He was charged with taking upon himself to set at liberty people convicted of treason, with having issued commissions on his own authority, and as a heretic with having dispersed heretical books, with having released heretics from prison, with having supported them by force, and with having rebuked their accusers; with having despised the nobles, and made a fortune by bribes. In his present temper these were just the charges to irritate Henry. Usurpation of his authority, and an attempt to override his laws of heresy, could not fail to rouse his anger. Cromwell was not brought to trial, but was condemned by a Bill of Attainder, and executed. It is very probable that the charges against him were true, and that he had in some instances exceeded his power. Still there is something exceedingly base in the manner in which Henry, as soon as Cromwell's plans ceased to please him, lent his ear to the first whispers of the reactionary party that he had trenched on the prerogative, and suffered to be destroyed by legal niceties a man who had served him as few kings are served, and with the general tenor of whose government and opinions he must have been perfectly acquainted.

Before Cromwell had died, a divorce had been contrived from the obnoxious Anne of Cleves, who had been quite satisfied with a handsome pension; and the triumph of the party opposed to Cromwell was completed when the King married immediately Catherine Howard, the daughter of Lord Edmund Howard, and niece of the Duke of Norfolk.

Marriage with Catherine Howard. Triumph of the reactionary party.

The history of the remaining years of the reign turns chiefly upon the affairs of Scotland. The struggle which had succeeded the battle of Flodden, in which the parties of France and of England had alternately risen to influence, had closed in the year 1525 in a compromise, by which the government of Scotland was placed in the hands of a Council of Eight. In this both

Affairs in Scotland.

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parties were represented. Under these circumstances, Henry had brought forward a proposition which he had much at heart for the union of the two crowns—a marriage between the young King James and one of the English Princessès. Anarchy, however, shortly regained its sway. Angus, at the head of the English party, contrived to keep some appearance of power; but in the year 1528 he was overpowered and driven into exile. Under the care of his immoral mother, the King had been taught to regard the English party as his enemies, and attached himself to the Papacy. He had besides the usual prejudices of Scotchmen against England. Henry used all his influence to win him to his views. He promised even to create him Duke of York, and put him in the line of inheritance, but the influence of the clergy was too strong, and in 1537 he united himself with the enemies of England by marrying Magdalen de Valois, and accepting from the Pope a consecrated hat and sword as the champion of orthodoxy. His wife did not live long, but in June 1538 the French influence received fresh strength when James married as a second wife Mary, daughter of the Duke of Guise, and widow of the Duke of Longueville. Her influence was rendered still stronger by the command gained over the King by David Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews. Henceforward Scotland could be reckoned only among the enemies of Henry. His final effort at reconciliation produced a promise of a personal meeting to be held at York, whither the King journeyed with his young wife in 1540. Beaton had influence enough to make James break his promise and absent himself from the meeting. Henry returned home angry and bent on war.

The news that met him on his return was not likely to cheer him. The ill fortune which accompanied all his efforts at matrimony had again pursued him. During his absence the Council had been examining certain charges against his young Queen, whose company he had been thoroughly enjoying during his Northern journey. There seems no doubt that before her marriage she had misconducted herself grossly, and that even during the late progress, Denham, one of her former lovers, had been in her household, and by the connivance of Lady Rochfort had been admitted to her room. Both the Queen and Lady Rochfort were executed. Parliament passed a stringent Act making it high treason for any lady whom the King sought to marry to hide from his knowledge any questionable circumstances in her past life, and the King secured domestic peace by marrying Catherine Parr, widow of Lord Latimer.

Execution of Catherine Howard. 1542.

Marriage of Catherine Parr. 1543.

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Henry was not wrong in supposing that a war with Scotland was imminent. It was a necessary consequence of the state of affairs in Europe, where the rivalry between Francis and Charles was again to involve England in its complications. Francis was now in close alliance with the Pope, who had quarrelled with Charles, and had allied himself, to the horror of Christendom, with the Turks. As such conduct would naturally incline England to join the opposite party, and ally itself to Germany, Francis continued energetically the traditionary policy of friendship with Scotland, hoping thus to keep Henry in check. In October the Scotch began a war, and at Halidon Rig captured Sir Robert Bowes, who commanded on the English frontier. A war on a larger scale at once followed. The Duke of Norfolk marched across the Tweed, ravaging in the usual manner, and James assembled his nobles to meet him. But he was unable to induce them to follow him; the affection he had shown for the Church, his attachment to favourites, and the banishment of the Douglases had made him unpopular among the nobility. A second army, collected by Church influence, marched into Cumberland. At first no leader was appointed; but on reaching England Oliver Sinclair, a personal favourite of the King's, was raised to the command over the head of all the nobles present. Anarchy and mismanagement were the consequence. An attack from a few hundred borderers was thought to be an assault from Norfolk's army, which was in fact thirty miles distant, and the whole expedition took to flight and was utterly ruined in Solway Moss, which has given its name to this flight. The loss was very great, and the disgrace affected James so much that he died, leaving behind him his wife, who had just presented him with a daughter—the well-known Mary Stuart. Scotland was once again plunged into anarchy. Cardinal Beaton, anxious to preserve the power he had exerted over the late King, had contrived to get from him on his deathbed, perhaps even after his death, a paper declaring himself Regent. But the forgery was too palpable, and the Earl of Arran succeeded in obtaining the regency, and in throwing Beaton into prison. The possession of a certain number of noble prisoners from the flight of Solway, and this apparent change in the government of Scotland, encouraged Henry again to hope for the peaceable union of the two crowns. He liberated his prisoners on condition that they should support his interests, and he had thus a permanent party in Scotland. For three-quarters of a year (Dec. 1542—Sept. 1543) perpetual intrigues were carried on. For a time Arran

Battle of Solway Moss. Nov. 25, 1542.

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seemed inclined towards the Reformation and against the clerical party, but Beaton was so much the abler man of the two, that by persuasion, or by threats of ecclesiastical censure, he at last completely mastered Arran. He got possession of the Queen; he drew assistance from France, although the French fleet was speedily defeated; he seems to have played upon the national prejudices even of the returned prisoners; till at last, although a Parliament had already accepted Henry's terms, all hope of a peaceful solution of the question ceased, the rival parties were reconciled, the infant Queen was crowned, and Scotland was united in its enmity to England.

Triumph of the anti-English party.

Meanwhile, England had no longer been able to keep clear of European difficulties. Henry was, in fact, urgent that Charles V., who had now quarrelled with the Pope, should follow his example, and declare the supremacy of the civil power, and should join with him in demanding a free council to settle religious difficulties. He, moreover, was determined not to be excluded from any general effort which might be necessary to beat back the advancing Turks. Being thus joined by similarity of interests, he formed an alliance with the Empire, and as a matter of course found himself at war with France. It was agreed between the two powers that they would invade France jointly the following year —the one from the Upper Rhine, the other from Calais. Their armies were to meet at Paris. This expedition was to take place in June.

War with France.

In the interval Henry took the opportunity of carrying on war against Scotland. An English fleet was sent to Leith, carrying with it an army of 10,000 men under Lord Hertford, the brother of Jane Seymour, whilst 4000 horse marched from Berwick, but not before the King had been informed of and given his approbation to an easier method of bringing the Scotch to reason. An offer was made, which the King approved, by Sir James Kirkaldy, Norman Leslie, and others to assassinate Cardinal Beaton. The conspirators were even promised money. They were unable to act immediately, and Hertford's invasion took place. Leith and Edinburgh were taken and sacked. Both the towns were partially burnt (May 5, 1544), and the country for seven miles round laid waste. Hertford and his army passed over to Calais for the French expedition; but the war, with all the horrors which at that time attended border warfare, continued, and Scotland was mercilessly ravaged.

In spite of Henry's representations, urging the inexpediency of a

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general advance on Paris, the programme arranged the preceding year was carried out by Charles, who marched forward beyond the Marne. Henry meanwhile contented himself with an attack upon Boulogne, which did not surrender before September. During the whole of this invasion emissaries from the French Court had been pressing both the Emperor and Henry to accept separate terms of peace, and now that Charles had somewhat imprudently pressed beyond a safe distance from his base of operations, and found himself unsupported by the English army, he no longer refused them. He sent indeed to consult Henry previously, but probably with no intention of taking a refusal; and on the 19th of September a separate peace was signed at Crêpy.

Peace of Crêpy. 1544.

The English were indignant at being thus, as they considered it, deserted, and it was so necessary for England to uphold her position in Europe, and not to show a weak front to the Roman Catholic powers, that it was determined, come what would, to continue the war single-handed. Charles refused in any way to assist them, in spite of the previous treaty. The reason for Charles's withdrawal was soon evident when the Council of Trent was called (1545), at which he had promised to be present, and from which he hoped for that settlement of Christendom which was his chief political object. If any general measure was to be taken, it would not do for the two great Catholic powers of Europe to be at war. Between England and France the war continued, and also between England and Scotland. One little success at Ancrum Moor was all of which the Scotch could boast. Men of all parties had joined on that occasion, alarmed by the reports of an intended annexation of Scotland. But though Hertford was sent to the borders, and the usual ruthless war was carried on, Henry's hands were too full for any such project. England stood alone in Europe. It had quarrelled with the Emperor, and France intended to revenge its losses of the preceding year by an invasion. Large preparations for the defence of England were made. Troops were raised and distributed through the country to the number of 120,000, and a fleet, under Lord Lisle, took up its position at Portsmouth. The French actually landed in the Isle of Wight; skirmishes were fought in the island, but it was thought imprudent to attack Portsmouth, and, after some indecisive actions, the plague attacked the French ships, and they were obliged to return to France.

England alone in Europe.

Their efforts to retake Boulogne were not more successful. In the beginning of 1546 Surrey indeed was defeated in the neighbourhood of that town; but Hertford, who

Peace of Boulogne. June 1546.

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superseded him, soon set matters right, and a peace was made. France bound itself to pay two millions of crowns, being debts due to England, within the next eight years, a pension to the King for life of 100,000 crowns, and 50,000 as a perpetual pension to England. Boulogne was to be left in English hands as security for the payment of these sums. Scotland was included in the peace. In that country the French and Papal party had been quite triumphant, when suddenly they were deprived of their leader by the assassination of Cardinal Beaton in his castle of St. Andrews. The castle was entered by Norman Leslie and others of the Protestant party, who had long since plotted his death, and who were roused to energy by the persecution and execution of Wishart the Reformer.

Strife of parties at the close of the reign.

The end of the reign was close at hand. Ever since the reaction which had produced the Act of the Six Articles, there had been a silent struggle going on. Both parties had been afraid to declare themselves openly, but twice the Anglicans, with Gardiner at their head, had tried to ruin Cranmer, and twice the King had saved him. Henry had lost something of his old vigour. The redundant strength of his youth had changed to unwieldy bulk. He is said to have required machines to move his limbs; he suffered constantly from a very painful ulcer in his leg. It was plain that he could not last much longer. In such a condition it was natural that he should no longer wish for innovation, but that at the same time he should surround himself with those trusty friends whose fortunes he had made, and who understood and shared his views. Thus, while the reactionary party seemed to be keeping things in their own hands, it was really the new men who were trusted, and who exerted the chief influence on the King's actions. Even in religious matters they were able to do something. A Liturgy, consisting of the Litany, Creed, the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and Morning and Evening Service, was ordered to be read in English in place of the Breviary. The dissolution of ecclesiastical foundations was completed by the destruction of the Chantries. They were not powerful enough, however, to prevent persecution. The Queen was certainly on their side, and the influence she had gained over Henry by her faithful care of him rendered any attack upon her hopeless. Anne Askew, however, a lady of her household, was accused and found guilty of questioning the Real Presence in the Sacrament. Wriothesley, the Chancellor, himself is said to have assisted in the application of torture to wring from her the names of others who shared her views. His efforts

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were vain. She refused to speak, and died with perfect constancy at the stake, in the presence of her triumphant enemies.

But while on ecclesiastical questions parties were thus tolerably balanced, the real struggle was carried on in the King's Council, where each party strove to strengthen itself in expectation of the speedy death of Henry, with the view of securing the upper hand during the inevitable minority of his son. As was natural, it was the young King's uncle, the Earl of Hertford, who took the lead of the new and reforming party, and his influence, backed by that of the Queen, seems to have been gradually on the increase. It was he who had led the victorious army into Scotland; it was he who had been brought thence to complete the operations before Boulogne, where Surrey had committed some blunders. The Howards, on their side, had evidently their intrigues also. During the late war Norfolk had been in close intercourse with the French ambassador, and now, with the view apparently of raising claims to the regency or to the guardianship of the young King, Surrey assumed a change in his coat of arms which implied a close connection with royalty. His rival was strong enough to make the jealous King regard this as a threatened act of treason; and Surrey and his father, in the beginning of December 1546, were suddenly apprehended upon a charge of treason. The usual useless formalities were gone through. Surrey was tried by jury, and on the 19th of January beheaded. The 28th was to have seen the execution of Henry's old servant the Duke of Norfolk, but early that morning the King died, and the members of the Council thought it more prudent not to commit themselves to so important an act as the execution of the Duke till the tendency of the new reign should be more clearly determined.

Final triumph of Hertford.

The King dies. 1547.

Historians have differed much in their estimate of the deceased King. The brutal, selfish, and licentious tyrant of one has been the wise and energetic and paternal ruler of the other. His character has been represented, and like other great men's characters will always be represented, in accordance with the general views of the writer. While the lover of liberty will shrink with horror from acts of violence, and a constant effort at a personal monopoly of power, which are visible in every line of his history, the lover of order will point with pride to the iron hand which compelled the most refractory to obedience, which suppressed anarchy and rebellion, and held the jarring elements of the revolutionary period in subjection.

General character of the reign.

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In his first youth Henry was undoubtedly a most highly-gifted and popular King, with beauty, strength, intelligence and education beyond most of those who surrounded him. In the first period of his reign, when his exuberant manhood found exercise in European wars, he raised England from the position of a third-rate power, which it had held during his father's reign, when Spanish influence was predominant, to that of a nation which could bid defiance to either of the great powers of Europe, and in some sort hold the balance between them. It was the pre-eminent administrative ability of Wolsey, coupled with the undoubted excellence of the English as soldiers, which enabled him to produce this great change. The question of the divorce and the fall of his first great minister awoke him from dreams of personal or national aggrandisement, and called his attention to the deeper movements which were agitating Europe. From that time till the end of his reign, however much he may have employed able ministers and made use of their ability, it was himself who was the true governor of the kingdom, and it is impossible to deny that he managed the government with great capacity. The secret of his success was the tact with which he at once perceived the national feeling. Absolute though he was, it is plain that on more than one occasion he yielded to the national will, and thus in a time of revolutionary excitement, in the midst of insurrections, dynastic, social and religious, he was enabled to pursue a distinct line of policy, and to prevent either party from becoming absolutely predominant. And when we read the history of the two next reigns, during which the rulers became partisans rather than the representatives of the national will, we become conscious of the great talent which guided the nation with comparative safety through so difficult a crisis. At the same time there can be no question as to the tyrannical character of his government; it is under him that the personal rule reached its full development. In him were centred all the forces of the Government. And when we add to this the undoubted coarseness and cruelty of his character, his extraordinary indelicacy with regard to women and to the relation of marriage, and the craving, which all personal governors must have, for a successor to carry on their plans, we understand how a reign which, in many respects, may be regarded as the most glorious of our history has become in the eyes of more modern civilization a period merely detestable for its cruelty, licentiousness and want of liberty.

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EDWARD VI.

1547—1553.

Born 1537.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Scotland.	*France.*	*Germany and Spain.*
Mary, 1542.	Henry II., 1547.	Charles V., 1519.

POPES.—Paul III., 1534. Julius III., 1550.

Archbishop.	*Chancellors.*
Thomas Cranmer, 1533	Sir William Paulet, 1547. Richard Rich, 1547. Thomas Goodrich, 1552.

HENRY'S wishes for a successor had been partially fulfilled, and the nation, which had been taught to rest absolutely on the will and guidance of its head, found itself nominally governed by a child of tender years, and really in the hands of a body of unprincipled statesmen, such as are the constant product of personal government,—men of great ability, but trained in habits of dependence and with no higher moral aim than their own aggrandisement. There was one exception to this general censure :—the Earl of Hertford was a patriot, but was without that statesmanlike balance which was so striking a characteristic of Henry. He had espoused one side in the great conflict, could see no excellence in any other, and that side was the revolutionary and innovating one. He panted for the opportunity of carrying out his reforms. In the gallery outside the room where the King was still lying dead, he induced Paget, the ablest of the late King's servants, to support him in a scheme for setting aside the King's will. Paget

Regency of Somerset. 1547.

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warned him of his danger, but consented to help him. Henry had hoped, by a judicious selection from the rival parties, to have surrounded his son with a neutral Council, who would have carried on his own views till Edward came of age. He had left the crown by will, as he was authorized to do by an Act of Parliament; and in accordance with this personal view of the royal power, the Council of Sixteen[1] were called executors. There was a second Council of Twelve, who could be summoned on any emergency. Although with the Norfolks the party of the old nobility had for the time fallen, and the executors were all new men, on religious matters they were not unanimous; and Wriothesley, the Chancellor, a vehement Anglo-Catholic, headed the opposition to Lord Hertford. In his hurry to secure leisure for political struggles, he appointed a commission under the Great Seal to transact his judicial business. His opponents at once took advantage of his error. It was held illegal to use the Great Seal for this purpose, and Wriothesley was removed from office. The triumph of Hertford, now become Duke of Somerset, was complete. He was raised not only to the Presidency of the Executive Council, but to the Protectorship of England, and the executors in time were merged in the General Council.

Before this they had made Somerset's brother Lord Seymour of Sudeley, Lord Parr, Marquis of Northampton, Lisle (Dudley), Earl of Warwick, and Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton.

He attempts everything at once.

It was no easy place which Somerset was called to fill. He had to continue Henry's policy in various directions, but Henry, as has been said, was his own minister, and the faults of this great centralization of powers in himself were now apparent. It was almost impossible for one plunged suddenly into the midst of so many lines of policy to grasp or carry out the late King's intentions. The main questions to be at once considered were the relations between England and Scotland, between England and France, between England and the German Protestants, between the reactionary Roman or Anglo-Catholics and the constantly increasing party of reform, between the poorer classes and their wealthy superiors, and, lastly, the financial difficulties which the late wars and the great rise in prices had introduced. To every one of these, at one and the same time, did Somerset address himself. Full of revolutionary energy, full of

1 Cranmer, Wriothesley, Lord St. John (Paulet), Lord Russell, Earl of Hertford, Viscount Lisle, Bishop of Durham, Anthony Browne, William Paget, North, Montague, Denny and Herbert.

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schemes of universal philanthropy, and with a confident and overweening reliance upon his own ability to carry out his good intentions, nothing seemed too difficult for him. The golden age was to begin. Gentleness, and quick justice, and popular liberality were to take the place of the stern repressive rule of the last reign.

The Reformation.

At once the Reformation began to be pushed forward—no longer in a restrained or temperate manner, but with destructive violence. Images of saints were pulled down in the churches, whitewash covered their painted walls. Ridley preached violent sermons at Paul's Cross. A general injunction was ordered for the purification of churches. Picture and window and statue were alike forbidden. A royal commission was issued to see that the directions of the late reign were fully carried out, and the English Liturgy used. The Book of Homilies was issued under Cranmer's directions, and many old customs and holydays were to be suppressed.

The writer of the Grey Friars' Chronicle mentions with bitterness these destructive measures; he says:—"Item, also at that same time was pullyd downe throrrow all the kynges domynyon in every churche alle Roddes with alle images, and every precher preched in their sermons agayne alle images. . . Also this same time was moche spekyng agayne the sacrament of the auter, that some callyd it Jacke of the boxe, with divers other shamfulle names. . . . And at this tyme was moche prechyng agayne the masse. And the sacrament of the auter pullyd downe in dyvers placys thorrow the realme. Item, after Ester beganne the servis in Ynglyche at Powles . . . and also in dyvers other pariche churches. . . . Item, also this yere was Barkynge chappylle at the Towre hylle pullyd downe, and sent Martyns at the chambulles end, sent Nicolas in the chambulles, and sent Ewyns, and within the gatte of Newgate those were put unto the churche that some tyme was the Gray Freres; and also Strand churche also pullyd downe to make the protector Duke of Somerset's place larger."

But though the Protector thus carried on the Reformation in England, he was unable to throw himself into the European war on the Protestant side. The opening of the Council of Trent had been shortly followed by the breaking out of a religious war in Germany. Henry VIII. had made offers of assistance to the Protestant Princes, but his offers had been declined; and subsequent events having given a more political character to the war, he had

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been disinclined to mix in it. On his death the Government was again pressed to give assistance to the Protestants; but however much Somerset may have desired it, he thought himself compelled to limit his assistance to a small sum of money. The relations both with France and Scotland were too threatening to admit of any more efficacious help. The battle of Muhlberg terminated for the present all hopes of Protestant success in Germany.

War with Scotland.

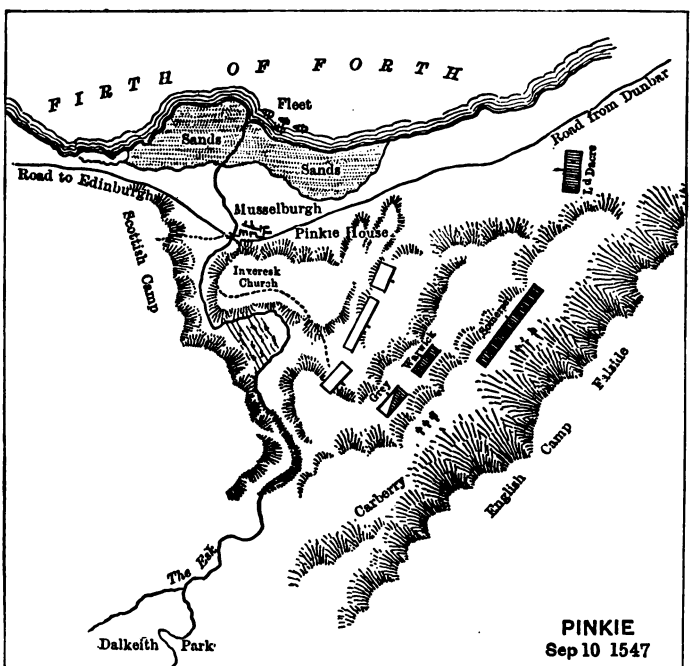
The arms which might have averted this disaster were turned against Scotland. Henry's plans had always tended towards a peaceful solution of the question between the two countries, but even he, in the later years of his reign, had been reduced to employ force. The death of Cardinal Beaton had, however, for a time recalled to life the English and Reforming party. If the castle of St. Andrews could be succoured, and Norman Leslie and his friends saved, there seemed yet a chance of their party gaining the upper hand. But Somerset allowed assistance to come to the Catholics from France, and the castle of St. Andrews fell. The friends of England were thus taught that they could put no great reliance upon Somerset. The impatience of his character indeed rendered him unfit for the tedious processes of party intrigue. He determined at once to cut the knot; the Scotch should be compelled to carry out what their Parliament had once promised. An army was collected at Berwick, with all necessary supplies. A fleet was to follow it round the coast as it marched upon Edinburgh. If the fall of St. Andrews had weakened the confidence of the Protestants, the threat of invasion united as usual all parties in Scotland, and war from henceforth was alone to be expected. The Protector marched rapidly northward.

Battle of Pinkie. Sept. 10, 1547.

He neglected the fortresses on the way, and pushed straight on to the Frith of Forth. The Scotch were collected in great numbers near Musselburgh, and when the English came upon them, they occupied a position of great strength on the westward bank of the little river Esk. On their left was the sea, on the right an impassable morass, while in front a river ran in a deep bed, which could be crossed by cavalry at one bridge only. The Scots committed an error which had more than once proved ruinous to them. Strong in numbers, they believed that the English would refuse the fight and try to escape them. To prevent this, they deserted their unassailable position. Somerset's advance from the hills of Falside and Carberry, where he had been encamped, towards Inveresk church, which partially commanded the Scotch

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position, seems to have been mistaken for an attempt to reach the fleet, which was anchored outside Musselburgh. They crossed the river by Musselburgh bridge, passed to the west of Inveresk church, and occupied the back of the hill, between which and the sloping terraces of Falside there was a depression. They also advanced southward, as though to attempt to occupy the end of the ridge which the English were leaving, and thus enclose the English army between



themselves and the river. This movement brought on the battle. The charge of the English cavalry upon the advancing right wing of the Scotch was repelled by the pikemen. But they were unable to follow up their success, and covering his movement with his artillery, Somerset brought the whole of his army upon the Scotch, somewhat disordered by their change of position, and shaken by the discharge of archers, musketry and artillery. Their broken troops were charged

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by the English cavalry, and the battle became a rout. But little quarter was given, and the slaughter was enormous. 1500 prisoners were taken; 10,000 men are said to have been slain. The loss of the English was only a few hundreds. This battle of Pinkie, which was the last before the junction of the thrones, marked as it was by needless cruelty, completed the alienation of the Scotch, and the marriage question was settled once for all by the young Queen Mary being sent to France, where, in the August of 1548, she was solemnly contracted to the Dauphin, afterwards Francis II.

War with France.

Having thus triumphantly ruined Henry's plan with regard to Scotland, Somerset found it necessary to take in hand the English difficulties with France. Henry had left England at peace with that country. The Peace of Boulogne had been a satisfactory and honourable one, and as long as Francis I. lived, the relations between the countries were fairly cordial. But only three months after Henry's death, Francis died also (March 22, 1547), and his son, Henry II., who had always been the leader of the anti-English party, came to the throne. It was by French troops that St. Andrews had been taken. In the following year, a French army was sent to assist the conquered Scotch. Boulogne, which was to be held by the English for eight years, was threatened, and finally, in the year 1548, constant skirmishing around Boulogne and upon the sea produced all the circumstances of war, although no war was declared. This uneasy condition continued for more than a year. The English were perpetually worsted, and lost fort after fort of the defences which surrounded Boulogne, till at length (1549) the Protector was obliged to declare war, so that here too he had failed in perpetuating Henry's policy.

Reversal of the arbitrary policy of the last reign.

Meanwhile, the visitors under the new ecclesiastical commission had been going on with their work in England. They had met with no great opposition from the people, but had come in contact with both Bonner and Gardiner, both of whom were imprisoned. His chief opponents being thus removed, Somerset was able on his return to England to carry through Parliament a Bill which swept away all treasons created since 25 Edward III., thus completely reversing Henry's home policy. This Bill repealed the Acts of Richard II., Henry V., and Henry VIII., against the Lollards;[1] the Act of the Six Articles, and those depending on it; the Act of the thirty-fifth year of his reign, prohibiting

[1] 5 Rich. II., stat. 1. c. 6; 2 Hen. V., c. 7; 25 Hen. VIII., c. 14; 31 Hen. VIII., c. 14; 34 Hen. VIII., c. 1.

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the reading of the English Scriptures in churches and to the poor, and all other Acts or sentences regarding doctrine or religion. It repealed also statutes passed in Henry VIII.'s reign, making new felonies, and those giving the authority of law to the King's proclamation.[1] To the treasons of the statute of Edward were added two—a proved public attack in words three times repeated against the King's supremacy, and a similar attack in writing, printing, or by overt act. It was added that two witnesses were necessary in cases of treason. The preamble to this statute explains exceedingly well the change of plan which Somerset advocated. It acknowledges the occasional necessity of severity, "but," it continues, "as in tempest or winter one course and garment is convenient, in calm or warm weather a more liberal case or lighter garment both may and ought to be followed and used, so we have seen divers strait and sore laws made in one Parliament, in a more calm and quiet reign of another Prince repealed and taken away, the which most high clemency and royal example of his Majesty's most noble progenitors, the King's Highness, of his tender and godly nature most given to mercy and love of his subjects willing to follow, . . . and minding further to provoke his said subjects with great indulgency and clemency, showed on his Highness' behalf to more love and kindness toward his Majesty, and upon trust that they will not abuse the same, but rather be encouraged thereby more faithfully and with more diligence and care for his Majesty to serve His Highness now in this his tender age, is contented and pleased that the severity of certain laws be mitigated and remitted." At the same time that this Act was passed, all the remaining property of ecclesiastical corporations was intrusted to the Crown, with the exception of the Universities, Winchester, Eton, St. George's, Windsor, and the Cathedral Chapters, and the collation to bishoprics was placed entirely in the King's hands. Together with this completion of the work of the Reformation was passed a Bill which was intended to put a finishing stroke to the legislation of the last reign with regard to vagrants and able-bodied paupers. The Government had not yet been brought to understand that men cannot be forced to work unless there is work to give them, and that natural laws were in operation which, till fresh sources of industry were opened, could not but throw large masses of unemployed labour upon the market. It was now ordered that any determinately idle and able-bodied vagrant might be adjudged by two magistrates to any one wanting him as a slave, branded with the letter V, and to be

Vagrant Act.

[1] 31 Hen. VIII., c. 8; 35 Hen. VIII., c. 23.

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kept in slavery for two years. If he refused still to work, he might be made a slave for life, or finally punished as a felon. Two years later, it was found necessary to repeal this severe Act.

Now that they had gained the upper hand, the Protestants pushed their advantage vigorously, and their teachers spread through England, preaching with rude and destructive vehemence against the doctrines of the Roman Church, which were still cherished by the mass of the people, who saw too these noisy innovators supported by those who were laying their hand right and left on the property of the old Church, and treating with scorn all that had been held holy. Somerset himself was seen appropriating mass after mass of ecclesiastical property, and thinking it no harm to pull down parish churches and chapels to supply room and material for his new palace of Somerset House.

Religious differences.

The social difficulty which the last Parliament had tried to deal with, and the unrestrained triumph of the reforming party, produced two insurrections, which were the immediate precursors to the fall of the Protector. Before they broke out it is necessary to mention a fresh difficulty which he found upon his hands. His brother, Lord Seymour of Sudeley, a man of violent temper and ambition, aspired to some share in the Protector's influence, and felt injured that, contrary to the usual precedent in such cases, both the Protectorship of the kingdom and the personal guardianship of the King should be in one man's hands. He sought to strengthen his position by marriage; the Council refused him the Princess Elizabeth, but he succeeded in marrying Catherine Parr, only two months after King Henry's death. He obtained also the guardianship of both Elizabeth and Lady Jane Grey, the daughter of the Marchioness of Dorset, niece of Henry VIII. His conduct in other respects was lawless and threatening. He rejected, although High Admiral, the command of the fleet on the occasion of the late Scotch war. He had secret correspondence with the pirates in the Channel, for whose advantage he purchased the Scilly Isles, as a convenient place of refuge. He obtained from Sir William Sharington, master of the mint at Bristol, money for his purposes; he even established two cannon foundries. He won over several Lords to his interest, and on the death of his wife again sought the hand of the Princess Elizabeth. Everything went to show that he conceived the idea of supplanting his brother. It seems that he intrusted some of his plans to Southampton (Wriothesley), supposing that he was still Somerset's enemy. From him information reached

Consequent insurrections.

Treason of Lord Seymour of Sudeley.

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the Protector, who had no choice but to arrest Lord Seymour. A Bill of Attainder was brought in against him, and although no opportunity was allowed him of speaking in his own defence, he was declared guilty and executed.

Act of Uniformity.

The next session of the Parliament was principally devoted to religious questions. A complete English Service Book was approved, in which the critical doctrine of the Lord's Supper was left uncertain; fasting was continued, but chiefly on the ground of its advantage to the fisheries; and the first Act of Uniformity was passed. Somerset probably believed that this and his other reforming measures were acceptable to the people, and would tend to bring in that reign of peace and charity which he desired. For the same reason he turned a willing ear to the complaints of the lower orders.

The changes in agriculture had thrown adrift great numbers of the labouring class. The same spirit which had made the landlords decrease their arable land urged them to pursue a new method of obtaining pasture. The unenclosed common lands of England were very large, and much of the livelihood of the labourers was derived from them. These were now taken in and enclosed by the neighbouring landlords, and the labourer's livelihood was thus cut off at both ends; he could neither find work, nor were his common rights respected. There was naturally much discontent, more especially as prices were rising under the influence of the restricted supply of corn and the depreciation of the coinage. The country was full of poverty and vagrancy and crime. Acts of violence occurred, and the destruction of enclosures became frequent. Instead of repressing them sharply, as would have been done in the last reign, Somerset, with his liberal tendencies, sympathized with the offenders. Laws had been made during the last two reigns to keep in check the growing evils of which the poor complained, and Somerset now issued a commission to see that those laws were carried out; and at the same time, thinking that the poor received scanty justice from the existing Law Courts, he established a private Court of Requests, through which they might have immediate access to him, and by means of which he did not scruple to set aside the process of law. The ills complained of and the object of the commission are well shown in a charge of Mr. Hales, one of the commissioners:—"There have been many good laws made for the maintenance of houses and husbandry and tillage, as in the fourth year of Henry VII., and in the seventh year of the reign of the

Popular tendencies of Somerset.

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King's Majesty's father, that no man should keep upon his own lands or farms, or upon his farms only, above the number of 2000 sheep; and in the same year, that no man should have or occupy more than two houses of husbandry in one town, parish, or hamlet. Yet, because the same laws were not reverently obeyed and obediently observed, we see they do little or no good. Towns, villages, and parishes do daily decay in great numbers; houses of husbandry and poor men's habitations be utterly destroyed everywhere, and in no small number. Husbandry and tillage, which is the very paunch of the Commonwealth, that is that that nourisheth the whole body of the realm, greatly abated, and finally the King's subjects wonderfully diminished; and albeit the commission extendeth to five principal points, that is for the decay of towns, villages, houses of husbandry, converting arable ground into pasture, the multitude of sheep, the heaping together of farms, the not keeping hospitality in households on the sites of the monasteries and religious houses which were dissolved by statutes made in the twenty-seventh year of the King's Majesty that dead is, and occupying of tillage on the demesnes of the same monasteries, yet doth altogether shoot but at one mark, and prick but at one prick, that is to remove the self-love that is in many men, to take away the inordinate desire of riches wherewith many be cumbered. And to plant brotherly love among us, to increase love and godly charity among us, and make us know and remember that we all, poor and rich, noble and ignoble, gentlemen and husbandmen, and all other of whatsoever estate they be, be but members of one body mystical of our Saviour Christ, and of the body of the realm."

Such a commission, however noble in its intention, could not fail to raise feelings akin to socialism in the minds of the poor, and call into existence hopes which could hardly be realized. The fruit of Somerset's revolutionary and meddling disposition was now ripe. In all directions he had exhibited a feverish activity; in all directions too he had shown a sympathy with the lower orders, and with the ultra-Protestants, quite at variance with the tradition of Henry VIII.'s masterful government; and Paget, the wisest statesman of the time, who had throughout supported Somerset, could with justice write to him in such terms as these—"What seeth your Grace over the King's subjects out of all discipline, out of obedience, caring neither for Protector nor King, and much less for any other mean officer? And what is the cause? Your own lenity, your softness, your opinion to be good to the poor. By and by the com-

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mons must be pleased; you must take pity upon the poor men's children and of the conversation and stay of this realm: and put no more so many irons in the fire at once as you have had within this twelvemonth. War with Scotland, with France, though it be not so termed: commissions out for this matter: new laws for this, proclamation for another: one on another's neck so thick that they be not set by among the people."[1] Paget wrote these words upon the receipt of the news that the rebellion had broken out in the West. Discontent there assumed the form of opposition to the introduction of the new Service Book required by the Act of Uniformity. The Liturgy was read for the first time on Whitsunday, the 1st of June. On Whit-Monday the villagers of Sampford Courtenay insisted upon the priest's resuming his old dress and reading Mass in Latin. The insurrection soon spread through Cornwall and Devonshire, and broke out at St. Mary's Clyst, near Exeter. Lord Russell was appointed to suppress the movement, but, previous to his arrival, Sir Peter Carew took some unsuccessful steps in the same direction which seemed rather to augment the flame. The demands of the Western insurgents, which were put forward in a very imperious form, asked for the restoration of the Mass and of the Six Articles, the re-establishment of images, and the abolition of the English Liturgy. They named as their leaders Humphrey Arundel, and Boyer, the Mayor of Bodmin.

Revolutionary outbreaks in the West.

In the same letter which has before been quoted, Paget urged on the Lord Protector a vigorous line of action. He begged him to act in unison with the Council, to summon his German auxiliaries from Calais, and to use all his exertions to nip the insurrection in the bud, and afterwards execute vigorous justice in every rebellious county. But affairs were now complicated by insurrections in various parts of England, and especially one in the Eastern Counties, which, under the command of Robert Ket of Wymondham, a tanner, was assuming a formidable aspect. The causes of complaint here, however, were not religious but social. With these, as we have seen, Somerset sympathized. He was therefore in a dilemma, feeling it wrong to act with vigour against the Eastern rebels, and being unable to repress those of the West without losing his popularity. His action was therefore vacillating. Fresh commissions and lukewarm proclamations were issued; but with regard to the East he distinctly asserted that reformation should begin with the gentlemen, and not with the commonalty. The Council took the

In the East.

[1] Strype's *Memorials*, Repository of Originals, Letter HH.

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matter into its own hands. Russell, being at length re-enforced by Lord Grey from Oxfordshire, advanced to relieve Exeter, which was besieged by the rebels. A battle was fought at St. Mary's Clyst, where, after a fierce fight, the insurgents were defeated. This victory was followed up, and on the 6th of August Exeter was relieved. There was a rally of the rebels at Sampford Courtenay, where they were finally dispersed. Martial law was declared in Devonshire and Cornwall, and the rebellious counties punished with great severity. Meanwhile the Norfolk insurgents directed their attention chiefly to the destruction of enclosures. An army of 16,000 of them took up their position on Mousehold Hill, near Norwich, where Ket held a daily court of justice, in which obnoxious gentlemen were tried. Property, which was largely seized, was brought into a common stock for the use of the camp. In an oak upon the hill, called the Oak of Reformation, a pulpit was erected, where the neighbouring clergy came and preached, and the Mayor of Norwich, either voluntarily or by compulsion, sat as fellow-judge with Ket. Order and discipline were well preserved in the rebel host. A herald was sent to them with a free pardon, but Ket rejected it as unnecessary. The herald tried to arrest him, and in the consequent uproar the town of Norwich was seized by the rebels. Again Somerset's gentleness had suffered the rebellion to gain head, and the Council insisted upon sharper measures. Lord Northampton was sent against them. He was admitted into Norwich by the citizens, but a second time the rebels stormed the town, and Northampton had to fly. Some proportion of the mercenary troops of the Protector had been proceeding northward to carry on the Scotch war. They were commanded by the Earl of Warwick, the son of the extortioner Dudley, and who, as Lord Lisle, had distinguished himself both as soldier and admiral. To him was intrusted the duty of repairing Northampton's disaster. He again offered the insurgents a pardon. Their mistrust again induced them to decline it. They had some temporary success against Warwick, but ultimately descending from their camp on Mousehold Hill, they took up a position in the open fields, where they were entirely routed, with the loss of between three and four thousand of their number. A few of them were afterwards hanged on the Oak of Reformation, and their leaders, Ket and his brother, being executed, the rebellion was at an end.

Warwick suppresses it.

But though peace was thus re-established in England, Boulogne was still threatened. Negotiations with the Emperor, who it was hoped might assist in withstanding the French, came to nothing, and it

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seemed as if the town must shortly fall. The outlying forts around it were taken one after the other, and at last formal war was declared against France (September 1549).

Somerset's government had thus been everywhere unsuccessful. He owed his position of Protector to the choice of the Council only. He was in fact in some degree their representative. Not unreasonably, then, they thought it necessary to resume the power they had delegated, which had been so unsuccessfully used. Warwick, returning to London from his triumphant suppression of the rebellion, where his vigorous action, as well as that of Russell in the West, had been rather opposed than seconded by the Protector, became a most important person among those members of the Council who planned the removal of Somerset. The Protector was informed of the feeling against him, and determined to struggle for his power. He declared the London Council treasonable, persuaded the King there was a plot against him, and called upon the nation to rise to defend the Crown. This was a virtual declaration of war between himself and the Council. It was soon plain that Somerset by hasty action had put himself in the wrong. One after another of his friends joined the London Council. Smith and Paget, who remained with him, were chiefly occupied in restraining his violence. He hurried the King to Windsor, to the great injury it was thought of his health; but finding that his measures were counteracted by his rivals, that Herbert and Russell, with the armies of the West, were siding with his enemies, and influenced by his prudent friends Paget and Cranmer, he at length made his submission and acknowledged the authority of the Council. The victorious party at once betook themselves to Windsor, and put themselves into communication with the King. The schism which divided the Council was thus healed, and they could again act with unquestioned authority. Toward the fallen Protector and his friends they acted leniently. Sir Thomas Smith was expelled the Council, and Somerset was sent to the Tower, where, however, he stayed but a short time, being released in February 1550, while three months afterwards most of his property was restored to him.

Warwick and the Council try to resume their authority.

Fall of Somerset.

The fall of Somerset might very naturally have been followed by a complete change of policy, as the charge against him was the want of success of his administration. Southampton had been prominent among his enemies, and for a moment the reactionary party thought that their time was come. But Warwick was all-powerful in the Council, and he saw plainly that

Warwick continues the headlong policy of Somerset.

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any reaction which should recall to influence the old nobility would be fatal to him. He therefore put himself into the hands of the Reformers, hurrying onwards even faster than Somerset had done.

Before he could proceed to any improvement on the state of affairs in England, it was necessary to complete the war with France. It was impossible to act vigorously while the constant drain on the resources of the nation caused by the war continued. How much the state of England wanted reform is shown by a few words of Paget's: "We must acknowledge what we cannot deny—the evil condition of our estate at home. . . . Ill money, whereby outward things be dearer, idleness among the people, the great courages, dispositions to imagine and invent novelties, devises to amend this and this, and a hundred mischiefs which make my heart sorry to mark—these be the fruits of war." With such a feeling among the negotiators, no great difficulty could arise with regard to terms. The French felt their superiority and pressed it; the English could but yield. The pension promised to Henry was refused. Boulogne was to be given up within six weeks, and in exchange the French were to pay four hundred thousand crowns. The large sum due from France to England was to be remitted, so that the four hundred thousand crowns was in fact all that remained of Henry VIII.'s conquest.

Loss of Boulogne.

Freed from the war with France, the Council had an opportunity of repairing some of Somerset's faults. He had indeed left them plenty to do. His revolutionary tendencies in all directions had produced a state of feeling which had become evident in the late rebellions. His conduct had been the more injudicious because he was acting during a minority, and the King on his coming of age might undo all that was done, and might reasonably have expected to have received his kingdom on the whole in the same position in which his father had left it. The Council plunged into the same revolutionary course, with this difference, that Somerset's errors had arisen from an over-estimate of his own ability, but were the fruit of high and noble feelings and aspirations; while Warwick, and his friends in the Council, the unscrupulous instruments of the late King, left without his restraining hand, were hypocrites in religion, had no object but their own aggrandizement, and in foreign policy thought only of tiding over the difficulty of the moment, and of sustaining as far as possible the balance of power.

Want of principle in the Council.

Latimer, in 1550, when preaching before the King, had accused the

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King's officers of bribery. Bribes were given to have accounts passed: —"What needeth a bribe giving except the bills be false? And here now I speak to you my master-minters, augmentationers, receivers, surveyors, auditors, ... ye are known well enough what ye were before ye came to your offices, what lands ye had then and what ye have purchased since, and what building ye make daily. Well, I pray ye, so build that the King's workmen may be paid. They make their moans that they can get no money, and poor labourers, gun-makers, powder-makers, bow-makers, arrow-makers, smiths, carpenters, soldiers, and other crafts cry out for their dues. It seems illfavouredly that ye should have enough wherewith to build superfluously and the King lack to pay his poor labourers."

To peculation, injustice, and the misgovernment of wholly selfish rulers, was added as a fresh cause of confusion the real difficulty of the currency. Already, towards the close of the last reign, Henry in his want of money had had recourse to the expedient of depreciating the coinage. He had gained by this means £50,000. The expedient had been largely followed during the present reign. The numerous plans which Somerset had constantly kept on hand at the same time had been very expensive, and the debasement of the coinage was an easy source of wealth. As a natural consequence, private individuals had secured such of the coinage as was good, to be either sold abroad or re-introduced in a debased state. Sharington, master of the Bristol mint, and the friend of Lord Seymour of Sudeley, confessed to having made a profit of £4000 by the issue of *testons* or bad shillings. On the suppression of the rebellions of 1549, and the fall of Somerset, Warwick, Herbert, Paget, and in fact most of the Lords of the Council, were allowed to reimburse themselves for the money they had spent in the suppression of the rebellions by coining large quantities of silver. Herbert's gain alone was £6709, 19s. The whole sum of base coinage thus introduced into circulation was more than £150,000. The evil went on; vast quantities of plate, especially from the churches, was turned into base money. The natural effects followed; the good money and the gold left the country; the rate of exchange constantly fell. Attempts to introduce a purer coinage in smaller-sized pieces failed, as these did but disclose the real amount of depreciation which the coinage had undergone. Prices rose enormously. "If we in England should coin in six years to come so much white money as we have in six years past, of the value now going, the plentifulness of the money and the baseness thereof together should bring our Commonwealth

The currency.

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to that pass, that if you should give a poor man three shillings a day for his day's labour, yet you should scarce pay him such a hire as he might live thereof—which God defend should come to pass." So high did the prices rise that violent attempts were made to fix a tariff. The outcry was too great, and the project was dropped. But at last the disorder and inconvenience reached such a pitch that the Council were driven to the necessity of reforming the coinage (Aug. 1551). The quantity of base money afloat and the lack of finances prevented an honest exchange of good money for bad. It was determined "to call down the money," that is, to make the real and nominal value of it agree. On the whole, the amount of depreciation was about fifty per cent. The shilling was therefore to be called down to sixpence, to the loss of every individual in the country of half the value of his money. This great reduction was done at two steps. The Council, knowing the coming change of value, did not scruple to take advantage of the interval between the two to throw another £120,000 worth, with no less than three-quarters alloy, into the country. The process was not fully completed, for though good money was issued in exchange for bad, the return of the bad money to the Mint was not compulsory. There was, of course, still room for unlimited counterfeiting, and after all the prices fell but little.

Rapid and disorderly advance of the Reformation.

As far as the Reformation was concerned, measures became more and more extreme. Gardiner and Bonner were both detained in prison, and Heath, Bishop of Worcester, joined them there. Somerset, who had regained some influence, exerted himself on Gardiner's behalf, but in vain. The new appointments were all Protestants. Ridley was made Bishop of London; Ponet, a man of immoral life, succeeded Gardiner at Winchester; and Hooper, after many scruples as to the legality of wearing Bishop's robes, was induced to accept the See of Gloucester. Acts were passed against images and paintings, statues and figures were to be removed from churches, and all service books except the Prayer Book to be destroyed. Along with other church property, many of the endowments at the Universities were seized, and lay proprietors appointed to livings without reference to their Bishops. However excellent in principle these changes may have been, the effect upon the morality of the country was disastrous. As we have already seen, the covetousness of the gentry was a marked characteristic of the time. The removal of religious restraints did not tend to lessen it. The destruction of the ecclesiastical courts and their discipline gave opportunity for much unbridled license. Licentiousness,

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murders and divorces are said to have been much increased. From the Universities the want of funds drove many of the poorer scholars, while among the wealthier young men who remained, the rapid destruction of objects which they had hitherto respected aroused the feeling of general irreverence. Parodies of the Mass, desecrations of the Sacrament, and the strongest language against the Catholics became common. Throughout the country the duties of the clergy were neglected. Lay patrons appointed themselves or some of their servants to livings. Even Bishops became large pluralists, absorbing the revenues of the parishes, and supplying the duties by means of some underpaid and ignorant monk or curate.

At last the Council, in their zeal, determined to attack the Princess Mary. The step was a hazardous one; all the interests of the reactionary party, smarting under their wrongs, and tracing all the anarchy of the kingdom to the Reformers, were centred in her. The English relations with Germany rendered the time particularly critical. Ever since the spread of the Reformation, a General Council had been looked to as the solution of the religious difficulty. The Emperor's constant rivalry with France, by making him afraid to quarrel with his Protestant subjects, had long postponed it. The Peace of Crêpy afforded the desired opportunity. The Pope wished the Council to be held in Italy. The Emperor knew that, unless held in Germany, his Lutheran subjects would not submit to its decisions. Paul III. seized the opportunity which the Peace of Crêpy afforded, and called the Council at Trent (1545), thus keeping it in Italy, while he nominally gratified the Emperor's desire by placing it in the limits of the German Empire. Charles could not reject the Council, but he expected and prepared for a religious war. Nor were his expectations deceived. In the summer of 1546, the Princes of the League of Smalkald, the Elector of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Hesse, appeared at the head of an army far superior to the Emperor's. He contrived to detach Maurice of Saxony from the Protestant cause; and though the Pope was indignant at this step, which deprived the war of its religious character and rendered it political, the Emperor justified it by the destruction of the Protestant army at Muhlberg in 1547, and the capture of both the Elector and the Landgrave. Thus, master of the situation, he summoned a Diet at Augsburg, and, in anger at the Pope's refusal to restore to its meeting-place at Trent the Council which had removed to Bologna, he established a compromise called the Interim. By this, Catholic doctrine was in the

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main restored, but certain points were left open till the Council, freed from the Pope's influence, should settle them. These were the restitution of Church property, the marriage of the clergy, and Communion in both kinds. This compromise was not well received on either side, and the free towns of Germany, especially Magdeburg, held out against it. But the death of the energetic Paul III. in 1550, and the election in his place, under the title of Julius III., of Cardinal del Monti, a very weak prelate, still further increased Charles's power, and rendered the suppression of the Protestants in Germany and a Holy War against England very probable.

This was the time selected by the Council for their insults to the Princess Mary. They insisted upon her giving up the use of the Mass. This she refused entirely to do, and placed herself under the protection of Charles. He took up her cause with warmth, and war seemed inevitable. But the completeness of his triumph, which induced him to issue persecuting laws of the most stringent description against the Protestants of the Low Countries, and to form a plan for rendering the Empire hereditary, excited the jealousy of France. In that country the party of the Guises, which made the re-establishment of the Catholic Church its chief object, was very hostile to England. But Henry II. and Montmorency, his minister, now adopted the policy of Francis; and the English Lords of the Council contrived to make an alliance with France, with the stipulation for the marriage of Edward with a French Princess. With France as his enemy, again allied with the Turks, Charles found all his old difficulties arising round him; and when, seizing the opportunity, Maurice of Saxony deserted his cause, and marched with the troops of Protestant Germany so rapidly upon Innspruck as nearly to capture the Emperor, danger from the side of Germany was removed. The Treaty of Passau, in 1552, completed Charles's discomfiture. After that he no longer attempted to struggle against the Reformation. The Confession of Augsburg was acknowledged, and the Landgrave and the Elector were freed.

Ill-timed attack on Princess Mary.

European affairs prevent the interference of Charles.

It was, however, by no means the fault of the Council that the invasion of England did not take place. They had done their best to produce it by attacking the Princess Mary, just when Charles's power was greatest. It was thus plain that the government of the Council had been no improvement upon that of Somerset, that, on the contrary, their plans had been as unsuccessful, their dishonesty and peculation far greater,

Failure of the policy of the Council.

Somerset regains influence.

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their revolutionary tendencies still more marked, and their personal character and behaviour such that, in the place of popular love, they had won universal execration. Somerset had been gradually regaining influence, and was now thinking of re-establishing his former authority. The part he had been taking lately had been conciliatory. He had been supporting Gardiner's demand for liberation. He had united himself with the Arundels, and had held somewhat aloof from the chief Reformers. His plans were betrayed and much exaggerated by Sir Thomas Palmer, who gave a false account of a plot to kill Warwick and Northampton at a banquet. The King, who was much in Warwick's power, inclined to support him because of his affected religious zeal. In October, the chiefs of Warwick's party were all raised in the peerage. He himself became Duke of Northumberland, Paulet, Earl of Wiltshire, became Marquis of Winchester, Sir William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, and Lord Dorset Duke of Suffolk. Somerset at once suspected that he had been betrayed; unable to gain certain information on this head, he ventured to a meeting of the Privy Council. He was apprehended and sent to the Tower, with his wife, the Arundels, Paget, and others. He was accused of aiming at the life of Northumberland, and of having collected men for the purpose—this would have been treasonable by an Act of 3 & 4 Edward VI.,—also with having devised the death of the Lords of the Council, having intended to raise the City against them, and with having purposed to resist his arrest. On these three heads he was charged with felony. To intentions of overthrowing Northumberland he confessed. The charge of treason therefore was withdrawn. As the Tower axe was carried out of Westminster Hall, the vast sympathizing multitude believed that he was acquitted, and were wild with joy. The charges of felony, however, were pressed, and on them he was found guilty and condemned to death. The anger of the people was very great, and great precautions had to be taken to secure quiet at his execution. On the 22nd of January he was beheaded, dying calmly and nobly. The love of the people for him was very great, and those who were nearest the scaffold thrust eagerly forward to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood. The House of Commons, too, showed its disapprobation of the manner in which the trial had been conducted by enacting that no person should be convicted of treason except by the testimony of two witnesses, who were to be produced at the trial. For this act of independence Parliament was dissolved, and a new and carefully chosen one substituted. Somer-

His death. 1552.

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set's death still further increased the hatred with which Warwick was regarded, and added fresh strength to that reaction which was so soon to get an opportunity of showing itself.

For the time, however, Northumberland thought himself all-powerful. Allied with France, sure that the Emperor could do him no injury, freed from his rival in the Council, he seemed to see his way even to higher things. It was possible that he might secure his influence for ever by a change in the late King's will. For Edward's health was now failing. He had always been of weakly constitution; the precocity of his mind, and the share in difficult public affairs which he had had to take, had not tended to strengthen him. His flight with Somerset to Windsor is said to have still further injured his lungs; it was now plain that he could not live long. On Henry VIII.'s death, of the direct descendants of Henry VII. there were three branches extant: (1) the children of Henry VIII., Edward, Mary and Elizabeth; (2) the descendants of his sister Margaret; (3) the descendants of his second sister Mary, who had married Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and had two daughters, Francis and Eleanor, the former of whom had married the Marquis of Dorset, now Duke of Suffolk, and had three daughters, the eldest of whom was Lady Jane Grey.[1] By Henry's will the Crown was to devolve, first, on his son Edward; second, upon his own heir, if he had any, by Catherine Parr or other Queen; third, on Mary; fourth, on Elizabeth; fifth, on the heirs of Lady Francis; sixth, on the heirs of Lady Eleanor;—the Scotch line being passed over entirely. Northumberland married his fourth son, Lord Guildford Dudley, to Lady Jane Grey; to the son of Herbert Lord Pembroke, her sister, Lady Catherine Grey, was betrothed. He contrived to persuade Edward, no doubt under pretext of upholding Protestantism, that he too had a right to devise the Crown, and in so doing to pass over his sisters Mary and Elizabeth, whose legitimacy had never been publicly declared, and to substitute the next heir in his father's will, Lady Jane Grey. The will, as it exists, is full of alterations and erasures. Edward's original plan was apparently to leave his kingdom to the male heirs springing from the late marriages or to his own, for he did not at first know that he was dying. This was afterwards changed so as to leave the kingdom to Lady Jane herself. Northumberland felt that his safety depended on carrying through this plan, and thus postponing the ascendancy of the reactionary party. As he was master of the resources of the country,

Warwick, triumphant, aims at changing the succession.

[1] See page 355.

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and as he had the King in his power, he was enabled to insist upon the judges drawing out letters patent such as he desired, and on having the Great Seal attached. He was also able, either by fear or persuasion, to secure the signature of a large number of very important men—the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, peers and ministers, judges and merchants. Many of them signed unwillingly and under protest, and Cranmer was only induced to do so by the personal entreaty of the King. Mary heard of the plot against her, and communicated her situation to the Emperor; while the King sank rapidly, not without some natural suspicions of foul play, and Northumberland made rapid preparations for establishing the change of dynasty by force of arms. On the 6th of July the young King died.

The King's death.

Although Edward's reign had been a long minority, it is not to be supposed that the lofty views of royalty which the two preceding Kings had introduced had in any way suffered. Somerset, popular though he was, had regarded himself as the representative of the Crown, and one prime cause of his fall was the absorption of all power into his own hands, and his disregard of the power of the Council. The young Edward always spoke and wrote as though his idea of royalty was as complete and as high as that of his father. All ecclesiastical changes in the reign had been carried out by lay authority. The complete supremacy and unity of the State lay at the bottom of all the transactions of the reign. But this centralized power had been employed, not as in the reign of Henry VIII. in harmony with the general wishes of the nation, but to the furtherance of the view of one section of the people only. Calvinistic doctrines had assumed the place of the earlier and more orthodox creeds. Forty-two Articles, entirely in that direction, had been promulgated; the English Liturgy had been revised and altered in a Calvinistic sense; the Bishops who had clung to the older doctrines had been removed and imprisoned, and their places occupied by Calvinists; and England had became a refuge for the persecuted Reformers of other lands, who crowded to the country for security. But now the circumstances of the succession were producing a crisis. If Northumberland's plan was allowed to succeed, the triumph of the Reforming party was secured. There was no longer any hope for those who still inclined towards the old doctrine. But with the bulk of the nation, especially with the nobility and members of the Council, the political change wrought by Henry VIII. was the real point of interest; there was no wish for a further advance in the

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reformation of doctrine. The general desire of the people was to restore as far as possible the state of affairs during the later years of Henry. The chance of attaining this end seemed to depend on the preservation on the throne of his legitimate descendants. To this must be added the constant preference which the English have shown for a regular succession, and a natural dislike that the will of the King, unauthorized by Parliament, should set aside a settlement which had the sanction of the national representation. The project of Northumberland then was beset with difficulties, and if carried out would have been forced upon an unwilling nation.

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MARY.

1553—1558.

Born 1515 = Philip II.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Scotland.	*France.*	*Germany.*	*Spain.*
Mary, 1542.	Henry II., 1547.	Charles V., 1519.	Charles V., 1516. Philip II., 1556.

POPES.—Julius III., 1550. Marcellus II., 1555. Paul IV., 1555.

Archbishops.	*Chancellors.*
Thomas Cranmer, 1533. Reginald Pole, 1556.	Stephen Gardiner, 1553. Nicholas Heath, 1556.

IN order to secure the completion of his plot, Northumberland kept the King's death a secret for some days. It was of paramount importance to him that Mary should be in his power, and soldiers were at once sent to Hunsdon, in Hertfordshire, where she then was, to bring her to London. But her secret friends had given her instant information of the King's death, and she had taken flight and ridden to Keninghall on the Waveney. This castle belonged to the Howards, among whom she was in safety, while its proximity to the sea offered her an easy means of escape to the dominions of her cousin, Charles V., should flight be necessary. Meanwhile Lady Jane Grey was called before the Council at Sion House, and was there told that Edward was dead, and that she was appointed to succeed him. Young as she was, she had acquired an unusual amount of learning—Greek, Latin and Hebrew were among her accomplishments. Her letters show a remarkable degree of sense, and give us a picture of a gentle, thoughtful, pure and pious nature. To such a character the sudden news was a great shock. Understanding, however, that her right was a true one, she bravely and calmly accepted the position. She was proclaimed in London on the 10th of July, but the people could not hide from themselves that she was

Escape of Mary.

Coronation of Lady Jane Grey.

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a creature of Northumberland's, whose real plan was to take advantage of the doubt as to whether a female sovereign was allowed in England, and get his son Lord Guildford Dudley crowned and made King. The hatred of the people for this nobleman was intense. His high-handed proceedings and absolute want of success had together secured him perfect unpopularity. People loved to speak of him as "the rugged bear," in allusion to his armorial bearings. The proclamation was therefore heard in silence, and the audience thought what an apprentice, Gilbert Potter, was brave enough to say: "Lady Mary has the better title;"—the pillory was his reward.

A force under the Earl of Warwick, Northumberland's eldest son, and another of the Dudleys, had been sent to fetch the Princess Mary, and a fleet was despatched to watch for her upon the coast. She had written to the Lords of the Council claiming the Crown, and had been told in reply to submit and behave as a good subject. Such was, however, by no means her temper. From Keninghall she moved to Framlingham, another stronghold of the Howards, and there began to gather round her the members of the older nobility, and those gentlemen whose Catholic tendencies had kept them in disgrace during the last reign. Lord Bath and Lord Sussex had joined her, Lord Mordaunt and Lord Wharton had sent their sons, and Lord Derby, the most powerful of the old Lords, had risen for her in Cheshire. Even Carew had proclaimed her in Devonshire. Warwick's attempt to seize Mary was quite unsuccessful; his own men declared against him.

The nation rallies round Mary.

It was plain that the opposition to Queen Jane would be a very strong one. In fact the heart of the nation was with Mary. Not caring for subtleties of ecclesiastical law, the nation recognized in her a true descendant of Henry VIII., and, sick of the anarchical and revolutionary government of Northumberland and his colleagues, longed for the order which would restore England to its proper condition—the only hope of which seemed to lie in a reaction. Hatred of Northumberland, and a preference for more national and patriotic views than his, had sown dissension in the Council itself; Winchester and Arundel were the secret friends of Mary. And thus, when it became necessary to collect troops to be sent into Norfolk to remedy Warwick's want of success, and when at the Queen's entreaty, Suffolk, her father, was left at home, and the troops were intrusted to Northumberland in person, Winchester and Arundel took care that they should consist largely of their own retainers, who had received orders to turn traitors. The Duke secured a commis-

Northumberland fails in Norfolk.

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sion under the Great Seal to authorize his proceedings, and set out to meet his army at Newmarket. But his army refused to fight against Queen Mary, and he had to fall back to Cambridge. The fleet, too, had declared for her on the coast, and most of the Council[1] who were left in London, finding means to slip from the Tower where they had met, but where they felt under restraint, proclaimed Mary Queen. This act was received with demonstrations of delight, very different from the silence which had greeted Queen Jane's proclamation.

Mary is proclaimed.

Paget and Arundel were at once despatched to make submission to Mary, and Arundel passed on to Cambridge, and there apprehended Northumberland, who humbly prayed him to be "good to him for the love of God, and to consider that he had done nothing but by the will of the Council."

Mary thus found herself Queen, contrary to the expectations even of her own friends at the Spanish Embassy. But the Queen's own views went much beyond those of the majority of her supporters. She looked not only to a restoration of the system of her father, but to a complete reconciliation with the Roman Church. Her position did not allow her at once to proceed to this extremity. The introduction of Bonner to the Council, and the appointment of Gardiner to the office of Chancellor, had indeed secured her strong partisans in the Government, but she could not yet dispense with that lay and national party which had raised her to the throne, while even Renard, the Ambassador of Charles, at whose advice she was forced to act, for political reasons employed himself in restraining her ardour. The political situation of Europe was critical, the rivalry between Charles and France was again at its height, and on the death of Edward there appeared a chance that England might be secured by one side or the other. Mary naturally inclined towards Charles, while Northumberland was so closely connected with the Court of France, that he had sent for help to that country to establish Lady Jane Grey. England was in fact at present the stake for which the two parties were playing. The ambassadors of the rival powers, Renard and Noailles, were therefore of great importance and the centres of all intrigue.

She wishes to rejoin Rome.

Now, to Simon Renard the restoration of England to Roman Catholicism was of secondary importance, except so far as it tended to throw the country upon the Spanish

Is checked by political reasons

[1] Winchester, Arundel, Pembroke, Shrewsbury, Bedford, Cheyne, Paget, Mason, and Petre.

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side of the great European contest. At the same time he was conscious that the nation as a whole did not desire reunion with Rome, especially as reconciliation probably implied repentance, and repentance restitution, and the restitution of the abbey lands was scarcely to be thought of. Any measure tending in that direction seemed for the time impossible. But while for these reasons the ambassador checked the Queen's eagerness, he was constantly urging her to severity to secure her position, which was so necessary for Charles's interests. The traitors who had tried to displace her should be executed at once, and with them all those whose claims were likely to be inconvenient—the Lady Jane, Lord Guildford Dudley, and even the Princess Elizabeth.

Though Renard's lukewarmness and political advice prevented Mary from at once restoring England to the Papacy, she proceeded rapidly to restore the old Church within the limits of her kingdom. She replaced the Bishops who had been deprived in the last reign, and sanctioned the restoration of the Mass—a measure which, except in the large towns, met with willing acceptance. The Protestant preachers and the foreign Protestants of note who were resident in England were either driven from the country by strong hints as to the danger of remaining, or summoned to London and imprisoned. Among these were Cranmer and Latimer, both of whom refused to leave the country. In August she went a step further, and although the law authorizing it had not been repealed,[1] refused to recognize the marriage of the clergy. A commission, consisting of Bonner, Gardiner, Day and Tunstall, proceeded to purify the bench of married Bishops. By this means, or on charges of treason, ten Bishops were got rid of.

Gradual restoration of the Roman Church.

The ease with which these changes were completed was perhaps partly due to the contemptible conduct of Northumberland. With the closest of his friends, his son the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Northampton, Sir Andrew Dudley, the two Gateses and Sir Thomas Palmer, he was tried and convicted of high treason, and on the 22d of August Gates and Palmer were executed. Northumberland's meanness followed him to his death. The day before his execution he and the other prisoners consented to hear Mass, and some of the more important citizens were summoned to see the edifying spectacle. The execution had been expected on that day, "and the headsman was ready, when suddenly they were commanded to depart. At the

[1] Mary's excuse for such illegal action was the position which she held that the Acts passed during the minority of Edward were void.

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same time after, was sent for my Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and chiefest of the crafts of London and divers of the Council, and there was said Mass before the Duke and the rest of the prisoners." Nor was this recantation enough. It had to be repeated, perhaps under false hopes of pardon, on the scaffold itself, where the apostate declared himself to have been in reality always a Catholic. Thus, with a lie upon his lips, he passed from the world, perhaps the worst and most simply selfish statesman who had ever ruled England.

But while Renard advised Mary as a politician, her conscience was assailed by the repeated instances of Cardinal Pole, son of Margaret Plantagenet, the Duke of Clarence's daughter. He had been abroad when Henry VIII. abolished the authority of the Pope in England, and, refusing to return when summoned, had been proclaimed a traitor and attainted. Since that time he had devoted himself wholly to the interests of the Roman See. The conspiracy of his brothers in England (in 1538) had destroyed any hopes of his return. He had been one of the Presidents of the Council of Trent, and had incessantly planned and intrigued with all his energy for the restoration of the Papal authority in England. On the accession of Mary he seemed on the point of seeing his hopes realized, and, wholly regardless of the political crisis, constantly insisted upon the immediate reconciliation of the kingdom with Rome. But the Emperor could not afford to risk his influence in England, or to suffer his plans to be destroyed by the inconsiderate haste of the eager Churchman. Much against his will, Pole was compelled to postpone his triumph, while Charles tried more politic measures to attach England to himself. With this object Renard had been instructed to suggest to Mary that Philip, Charles's heir, would be a desirable match for her. The suggestion had been so well received that the Queen was herself willing for a time to lay some restraint upon her religious zeal. The ambassador had shown her Philip's portrait, and her solitary and forlorn heart had been seized with an overpowering passion for him, so that before everything, before even the re-establishment of orthodoxy, she desired this marriage to be arranged. Anything which could in any way prevent it was studiously to be avoided. As Pole's return and the accompanying restitution of the Abbey lands would be most distasteful to her subjects, and risk the failure of the marriage she had so much at heart, the Queen felt that it must be for the present postponed. Still the reconciliation was postponed only; every care was taken to render it at some future time possible and

Proposed marriage with Philip.

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easy. She cleared the way for Pole's future reception by getting her first Parliament, which assembled for a brief session early in October, to pass an Act repealing all treasons except those mentioned in the Statute of Edward III. (exempting from it however all who had been arrested before the end of the preceding month), and offences falling within the case of Præmunire. More than this she could not venture to do. She was obliged to allow the Parliament during its second session, later in the year, to declare her legitimate, thus acknowledging the competency of previous Parliaments which had declared the contrary. She even suffered the same Parliament to restore the Church to the position it had occupied on her father's death, and to accept the title of Supreme Head of the Church, though she evidently thus trenched upon the prerogative of the Roman See.

Extreme care was indeed necessary to avoid all fresh causes of unpopularity, for the idea of the Spanish marriage, implying as it did a close connection with the Roman Catholic powers of Europe, and the probability that it would draw England into the whirlpool of rivalry between France and Spain, had excited great anger. The Commons petitioned the Queen strongly against it, but were met with a peremptory rebuff. Her conduct to her sister also gave deep offence. The Act which had declared the Queen legitimate had not removed the stain of illegitimacy from Mary. Mary had still further shown her feelings by refusing to acknowledge Elizabeth as her heir. Lady Lennox, the daughter of Margaret of Scotland, had even been allowed to take precedence of her. The Protestants, and a large proportion of the national party, thought they saw in these two things—the marriage and her treatment of the Princess—a threat of a reactionary policy so violent as to be intolerable. They determined to take arms. The conclusion of the treaty of marriage and the arrival of Count Egmont, who was to represent the Spanish Prince at the forthcoming marriage ceremony, brought matters to a crisis. There was to to be a concerted rising in Devonshire, on the borders of Wales, in the Midland counties, and in Kent. The management of these was intrusted to Sir Peter Carew, Sir James Crofts, Suffolk and Wyatt respectively. Courtenay and Elizabeth were, if possible, to be married and placed upon the throne. This young man, son of the Marquis of Exeter beheaded in the Pole conspiracy in 1539, had since that time been a prisoner in the Tower, and was thus, as was natural, ignorant of the ways of the world, and ill-fitted for a conspirator. He was in fact a silly, vain lad, who by his folly allowed Gardiner to

Unpopularity of the marriage.

Consequent risings in different parts of the country. 1554.

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obtain full information of the plot. Carew, summoned to London, was driven to a premature rising, and upon his immediate failure was compelled to fly to France. This drove Wyatt into arms, while Suffolk hurried off to raise the Midland counties (Jan. 1554). He could there do little more than issue proclamations in Leicester and several other places against the Spanish marriage. He found but little sympathy, and, being compelled to hide, sought safety in a hollow oak in his own park at Astley, where he was betrayed by his keeper. Wyatt meanwhile had advanced towards Rochester, having with him a considerable body of the men of Kent. He procured cannon from the Queen's ships in the river, and was ready with a fairly equipped army before any troops had been sent against him. Indeed the Council threw great obstacles in the Queen's way, having but little favour themselves for the Spanish marriage. Five hundred Londoners were however placed under the command of Norfolk, and marched towards Rochester. The Duke, persuaded by the treacherous advice of Sir George Hopper, advanced directly upon Wyatt. In presence of the insurgents the Londoners immediately changed sides, with their commander, Brett, at their head. Thus supplied with cannon, Wyatt advanced to Dartford with a considerable force, trusting chiefly to the disaffection in London, a proof of which he had so lately seen. The crisis was becoming very dangerous. Even Renard began to think that the marriage must be given up. But the energy of the Tudor Queen rose with the difficulty. She contrived to gain some time by a futile negotiation with Wyatt. In his answer he demanded the custody of the Queen's person and the Tower of London. Armed with these arrogant demands, the Queen threw herself upon the good feeling of the Londoners. She rode in person to Guildhall, and there addressed them in a spirit-stirring speech, declaring that she would never marry except with leave of Parliament. Her bravery won the hearts of her audience. 25,000 men were enrolled the next day (Feb. 3), and before Wyatt reached London Bridge the City was prepared, under the command of the Admiral Lord William Howard, and the bridge impassable. Wyatt's opportunity was gone. Had Suffolk been able to second him things might still have gone well, but he was already a captive. To reach London Wyatt had now to go up the river as far as Kingston, to bring his troops across in boats. Time, which was enabling the Queen's party to strengthen and organize their defence, had already begun to thin his ranks. With such forces as he had he marched along what is now Piccadilly, coming down the river from Kingston. Delays occurred upon the way, and his army was broken and worn

Courage of the Queen.

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out as it approached Hyde Park Corner. It was there cut in half by a charge of cavalry. Wyatt continued to advance with the leading portion; the other half dispersed. He went down in front of St. James's Palace, and so on to Charing Cross. The guard, with whom was Courtenay, broke and fled, and Whitehall, where the Queen was watching the fortunes of the day, was in great danger. Wyatt however passed on up the Strand; the troops opened to let him pass, and he reached Ludgate. This was the end of his march. His troops were scattered and had fallen from him, and he found himself with twenty-four men only. He fought back as far as Temple Bar, but there surrendered to Sir Maurice Berkeley, and his insurrection was at an end (Feb. 3).

The failure of Wyatt's insurrection sealed the fate of the prisoners in the Tower. The Queen had hitherto been mercifully inclined; she was now ready to listen to the constant advice of Gardiner and of Renard, and to rid herself of her late rival, perhaps even of her sister Elizabeth. On the 12th of February Lord Guildford Dudley was executed on Tower Hill. His young wife saw him led forth, and saw his remains brought back, and then went calmly out to suffer death herself upon the scaffold on the green within the Tower. She said briefly that she had been wrong in taking the Crown, but was guiltless in intention, and then with perfect calmness got ready for the fatal stroke. Fakenham, the Queen's confessor, had been in vain trying to shake her Protestant faith. She was even able to write a beautiful letter to strengthen her father, and thus, at the age of seventeen, passed away —a remarkable instance of precocious talent wedded to a most pure and high-minded disposition. "On that same day was made," says a contemporary diarist, "at every gate in London a new pair of gallows—two pair in Cheapside, two pair in Fleet Street, one pair in Holborn," and so on; and he continues his catalogue of the numbers hanged on each, in all some forty-eight. Stowe says that eighty were hanged in London, and twenty-two in Kent. On the 23rd the Duke of Suffolk suffered.

Execution of Lady Jane Grey and others. Feb. 12.

Thus, then, the Queen's rivals, the Greys, were disposed of, and Gardiner believed that her sister, her more formidable rival, was also within her grasp. A copy of a letter of hers had been found among some treasonable correspondence with France, and it was hoped that Wyatt might be induced by torture to implicate her in some way or other in the conspiracy. When, just before the insurrection, she had been sent for to London, she had

Imprisonment of Princess Elizabeth.

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pleaded ill-health. She was now peremptorily ordered to appear there, and ill as she was, she was brought by Lord William Howard, Sir Edward Hastings, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, to London by easy journeys. But although every measure was taken to induce Wyatt to accuse her, and although some little evidence was gained, the Court could not venture beyond sending her to the Tower; and even in doing this, Gardiner was strongly opposed by Paget, Sussex, Hastings and others. They knew what was likely to be the end of such a committal. But Elizabeth formed a sort of centre round which was gathered the liberal part of the nation. The same division of parties as existed in England generally, existed also in the Council, and the best statesmen in that body—Paget, Sussex, Lord William Howard, Winchester, and Hastings—although Catholics, and so far reactionary as to wish to undo the revolutionary measures of the last reign, were yet in distinct opposition to Gardiner, who, with Petre, Rochester, and others, was desirous not only of establishing the Roman Catholic religion, but of establishing it by means of persecution. The moderate party, and among them chiefly Lord William Howard, whose influence as Admiral was very great, rendered it impossible to persecute Elizabeth further. The judges, too, declared that there was no case against her, and thus, in spite of the protests of Gardiner and of Renard, she was at length allowed to retire to Woodstock.

As Wyatt's witness was no longer of use, he was executed, denying with his last breath any accusation he might have made against the Princess. The liberal party of the Council were not alone in thinking that vengeance had gone far enough. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, the next of the prisoners to be tried, was, after a brilliant defence of himself, acquitted. The jury which acquitted him was at once imprisoned, but the Court had learnt the lesson intended, and the remaining important prisoners escaped with their lives.

Second Parliament authorizes the Spanish marriage.

The failure of Wyatt's insurrection against the Spanish marriage of course removed all opposition to it, and in the second Parliament of the reign, which was summoned in April, the Bill necessary for the marriage was passed. Gardiner's next step, however, met with less success. He insisted upon introducing three Bills for the persecution of heretics. These were defeated with great difficulty by Paget in the Upper House, and the dispute between the different sections of the Council ran so high that an outbreak seemed imminent. Mary's mind had meanwhile begun to be shaken by the wild craving which possessed her for a

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marriage with Philip. Renard had but to threaten that the Prince would not come, to obtain anything he desired. At last, however (in July), with great precautions against danger from the unruly populace, Philip actually came,—to find a wife much older than himself, without charm of any kind, whose importunate love was soon to become most irksome to him.

The first of the Queen's desires was for a time fulfilled; the second, for the restoration of the Papal power in England, was yet incomplete. Charles's opposition to Pole's return was withdrawn now that his influence in England appeared to be secured by his son's marriage; and the Queen, after a lavish expenditure of money among the chief statesmen opposed to her wishes, found it possible to advance towards the completion of her great hope. The Pope was induced so far to relax his claims as to give Pole full power to make what terms he could; and a new Parliament, elected expressly for the occasion, not without a plentiful exertion of Court influence,[1] was summoned in November. Pole's attainder was at once repealed, and the Legate, though at first in the character only of ambassador, ventured to England. At Rochester, however, he was informed that he might assume his Legatine authority, and his barge swept up (Nov. 24) with the full tide to Whitehall, with the silver cross displayed at its bow. He was received with every sign of extravagant welcome by the King and Queen. Four days afterwards, both the Houses of Parliament were summoned to Whitehall to hear an address from the Legate. In this he pointed out the merciful dealings of God with the nation in giving it a faithful Queen, and marrying her to a faithful King. He explained that he regarded himself as holding the keys—keys which could admit men to Heaven, and desired the nation to consider whether it would make use of them or not. When the House met after this address, it accepted the reconciliation offered, with one dissentient voice. On St. Andrew's Day (Nov. 30) the Houses assembled again at Whitehall, and received upon their knees absolution from the Legate. They then passed enthusiastically to the chapel in the palace, and joined in a Te Deum. The reconciliation, however, was after all a compromise. The possession of property of all sorts was held to rest on the statutes of the realm, and could be called in question only in lay courts,[2] and any one who should on any pretence

In spite of difficulties, England accepts the Papal absolution.

[1] Influential persons were required to try and secure the election of "such as were of a wise, grave and Catholic sort, such as indeed meant the true honour of God."

[2] 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, ch. viii.

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of spiritual jurisdiction molest the holders of such land was to undergo the indefinite danger of the Præmunire. Every precaution was taken to exclude Philip as far as possible from exercising the royal power; he was declared Regent only till his child, who was now surely expected, should be of age, and only as long as he continued in the realm. With this limited success the Court party was forced to be contented.

But the restored power of the Church at once made itself felt. The persecuting statutes of Henry IV. and Henry V., which had been previously rejected, were now re-enacted; and Gardiner, backed by the power of the Legate, and acting in accordance with the law, could at once proceed to the violent measures for which he was anxious. Pole issued orders for the reception of confessions and the issue of absolutions. Of these a register was to be kept, which virtually amounted to a black-book of heretics. On the very day of the appearance of these orders, Gardiner, Bonner, Tunstall, and other Bishops, were at work at St. Mary Overy's. Hooper and Rogers were their first victims. They were ordered to submit, and upon declining, were condemned to death. On the 4th of February, Rogers—parting as he went with his wife and nine children, and received with cheers of approbation by the onlookers—was led to the fire at Smithfield. The same night Hooper was taken to Gloucester, where his liberality had much endeared him, and suffered there. The same day and the day before, died Rowland Taylor and Laurence Sandars. This triumph of clerical revenge was very far from what the people had desired. The popular excitement did not escape the Spanish Ambassador, and, impressing Philip with the political necessities of his position, he compelled him, by the mouth of his chaplain, Alfonso a Castro, to denounce the persecution and disclaim all share in it. The effect, indeed, was such upon the people generally that a revolution seemed imminent, and Philip himself was thinking of throwing up the game and leaving the country. He was persuaded to remain till the succession had been arranged, and to bring about, if possible, a marriage between Elizabeth and Philibert of Savoy, who was wholly in the Spanish interest. The persecution, meanwhile, checked for a short time by Alfonso's sermon, was speedily renewed. Early in March, eight more victims were burnt; in all, sixteen before the end of April. The Queen was then preparing seriously for her confinement. She gave back to the Pope such abbey lands as she possessed to make her peace with God, and retired to Hampton Court, while priests and bishops sang prayers about the

Persecuting statutes re-enacted and put in force. Jan. 1555.

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London streets.[1] Circulars even were written announcing the happy event. But the happy event did not come. Yet much hung on it;—in England the peaceful acceptance of Spanish influence, and abroad that consequent preponderance of the Imperial power which would produce European peace, which would in its turn enable Philip and Mary to carry out their Catholic views in England. All this was dependent upon the birth of an heir to the throne. But the child did not come; and almost worse than that, two Popes died within a few weeks of each other, and in May, Marcellus was succeeded, under the title of Paul IV., by Cardinal Caraffa, the deadly enemy of Pole, and the close friend of the French. Conscience-stricken for her too great leniency, Mary issued a letter exciting the Bishops to greater energy. Fifty new victims were the consequence. The effect was not what the Queen hoped; and the Spaniards, throwing up all hope that Philip would rule England as Regent to his son, threw the whole of their influence into the intended match between Elizabeth and Philibert, hoping thereby at least to secure a secondary interest in affairs. Philip found it no longer necessary to remain with his unloved wife. He was wanted too elsewhere; and in August he left England—having taken the opportunity of setting himself right with the Princess—and went to receive the dominion which his great father, Charles V., was now abdicating. It is uncertain what his plans with regard to England were, but there is some evidence to show that arms were to establish that Spanish influence which had not come through his marriage.

The Queen is disappointed of an heir.

Philip leaves England.

His departure left the Queen miserable, and almost mad. She roamed wildly about her palace, and sat grovelling on the floor in the twilight, with her knees drawn up to her face. She betook herself to the gloomy satisfaction of religious persecution, and in the three dioceses of Canterbury, Rochester and London there was but little cessation of sacrifices at the stake. Among others Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, imprisoned since the beginning of the reign, were now to be dealt with. Commissioners were sent to Oxford to try them. There was this difficulty in the way of Cranmer's condemnation, that he had received the pall from the Pope. He refused, too, to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the commissioners, asserting that the Papal authority was forbidden by old English law. At the close of the proceedings, he was cited to appear at

Renewed persecution. Trial and death of Ridley and Latimer. Sept. 7.

[1] These exhibitions were not without their drawbacks. On one occasion Machyn tells how a "frantyk man cam and hangyd about a prest vj poddynges."—MACHYN, p. 55.

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Rome within eighty days, and then recommitted to his prison. A few days after, Ridley and Latimer were also tried in the Divinity Schools at Oxford. Latimer exhibited the quaint simplicity which marked his character. The old man appeared, leaning on his staff, in a threadbare gown of Bristol frieze; a handkerchief and night-cap were upon his head, and over those a burgher's cap, with broad ear-flaps. To his leathern waistband hung his Bible, and his spectacles hung by a string about his neck. The test question was applied to him with regard to the Sacrament. He could but simply answer that bread was bread, and wine was wine. Both he and Ridley were condemned to death. On the 16th of October they were brought out —passing the prison where Cranmer was still living—to the stake erected at the bottom of St. Giles's; Ridley, neatly and trimly clothed like a gentleman, with a furred black gown, and furred tippet around his neck, and Latimer, quaint as ever, clothed beneath his cloak with a new shroud. They were chained back to back to the same stake—a friend hung powder round the neck of each; the faggots were lighted. "Play the man Master Ridley," said Latimer, "we shall this day light such a candle in England as by the grace of God shall never be put out." The death of Latimer was almost instantaneous. His companion lingered longer; but at length some friend stirred the faggots at his feet, the flames shot up and caught the powder, and he died. The less-known martyrs suffered even more terribly; some at least were starved to death in the prison where they were confined.

The Archbishop's fate was rapidly approaching; but he outlived his unrelenting enemy, Gardiner, who died almost immediately after the meeting of Parliament in October—a Parliament which would only grant a subsidy under the pledge that none of it should go to Philip, and which, though it allowed the Queen to divest herself of the first-fruits, refused to suffer them to be paid to the Pope. A Parliament so little obsequious to the Crown was speedily dissolved. In December Cranmer's cause had been tried at Rome, and sentence had been passed against him in his enforced absence. In February 1556 he was degraded from his office by Thirlby and Bonner, who were intrusted with the completion of the sentence. His life was spared a little, and he was induced to write several letters of submission and humiliating confession. This was held to be a deathblow to the cause of the Reformation, and it was thought that, as that blow had been struck, there was no further object in sparing Cranmer's life. But the persecutors outwitted themselves. On the 21st of March he was to be executed, and to put

Confession and death of Cranmer. March 21.

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the final stroke to his humiliation by a great public confession. It was rainy, and the sermon and recantation were held in St. Mary's Church. Cole, the Provost of Eton, preached to him, or rather on him, and concluded by an appeal to him to fulfil his promise, and to declare his confession of faith. The Archbishop knelt in prayer, addressed a few words of wise advice against the sins of the time; and then, to the astonishment of his hearers, when he passed to his confession of faith, declared that the letters which he had lately written were contrary to his true belief, vowed that the hand that had written them should first be burned, and closed by saying, "As for the Pope, I utterly refuse him as Christ's enemy, and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine; and as for the Sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the Bishop of Winchester." He was hustled off to the stake and burnt, fulfilling his promise that his right hand should be the first to feel the fire.

The Dudley conspiracy. April 3.

Three days before this execution, a number of young gentlemen were carried to the Tower, among them John Throgmorton and Sir Harry Peckham; and a few days after a proclamation appeared declaring Sir Harry Dudley, Christopher Aston, the two Tremaynes, and divers others, traitors. The feelings of the nation had been deeply stirred by the cruelty of the persecutions. Among younger men especially were found many who saw in the present reaction a death-blow to all their noblest hopes and aspirations. The younger part of England believed even then in progress, and regarded Elizabeth—child of the Protestant upstart Anne Boleyn—as its representative. Their plans had ripened during the session of Parliament; and now, when the time for their fulfilment was close at hand, were suddenly exploded. Sir Harry Dudley, one of the Duke of Northumberland's family, appears to have been at the bottom of the plot, and it is his name that it generally bears. In its details the scheme of Dudley and his young friends—for nearly all of them were young—was very like Wyatt's and the Duke of Suffolk's. The hope of its success rested chiefly on assistance from France. In Paris Throgmorton had been intriguing, and thither Sir Harry Dudley himself went to intrigue. French ships, armed by means of French money, and manned by discontented Englishmen, who were now very plentiful in France, were to seize the Isle of Wight, which Uvedale, the Captain of the island, had arranged to surrender to them. Thence Portsmouth was to be attacked, and secured without bloodshed, for there was a friendly party within. The possession of this port was to secure the insurrection of

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the whole South-east of England. Meanwhile troops from Wales and the West were to march towards the capital. The balance between Spain and France on the Continent was at this time so uncertain, that Henry II. of France was not inclined either strongly to assist or wholly to discourage the conspirators. A midnight meeting was held in Paris, and assistance promised them. But this was too ostentatious a manner of conspiring not to reach the ears of Wotton, the English Ambassador; information was at once sent to England. An intended robbery of the Treasury, to the amount of £50,000, which was to supply the fund for the expedition, was also betrayed. The effect was the immediate apprehension of such of the chiefs of the conspiracy as were to be found in England, while the rest were proclaimed traitors. No mercy was shown to the offenders; neither rack nor gallows was spared, but, though some of the conspirators turned King's evidence, Throgmorton, whose knowledge was the most extensive, bore bravely up against the torture.

This conspiracy was followed by an increased vigour of persecution.

Renewed persecution.

The diary of Machyn, a citizen of London, is little else than a dismal list of poor wretches brought to the stake, or criminals hanged wholesale; for the restoration of Church discipline seems to have had no effect upon the morals of the country. The Government had fallen into the hands of a few of the Queen's particular friends—as Rochester, Englefield and Jernyngham. The Lords of the Council, and real statesmen of England, held aloof from the wretched tyranny. The exiled gentlemen sought refuge in France, and were there welcomed by the King, from whom the complaints of Mary could obtain nothing but the most transparently false disavowal of all intentions to assist them. The very ships which were said to be sent to suppress the rovers—for the exiles had taken to privateering—really acted as their consorts.

Many young Englishmen fly to France.

They preyed chiefly on the trade of Spain, between which power and France war was again imminent, and whose interests were identical with Mary's. These young gentlemen had a sort of chivalrous worship of the Princess Elizabeth. On her the eyes of the younger and more stirring part of the people had been fixed throughout the reign, and now, amid the general wretchedness, all parties, except the extreme Catholics, fixed their hopes on her. The younger men conspired, and lost the national confidence by seeking the aid of France; the wise old statesmen, who saw in her something of her father's love of order, were content to wait till a few years should of necessity close the Queen's life, for her health was

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quite broken; she was a prey to the dropsy, and the absence of her husband tended to increase her misery.

The French support of the English exiles was not wholly politic. For some little time there had been a truce between the French nation and Spain. But Caraffa, Paul IV., was French in all his views; he was anxious too to expel the Spaniards from Naples, and was constantly urging Henry II. to break the truce. He had now induced him to do so, and it would have been prudent to have allowed the English to hold aloof from the war, as was their anxious wish. Henry's injudicious support of the exiles did for Philip what he never could have done for himself. The Spanish King had brought himself to revisit the country and the wife he detested, for the purpose of embroiling England in his continental quarrels. This was contrary to the treaty of marriage between himself and Mary, and his visit had proved useless. But the assistance given by Henry to a wild expedition to the North of England headed by Sir Thomas Stafford, the grandson of the Duke of Buckingham whom Henry VIII. had beheaded, forced the nation into war. Stafford landed with thirty Englishmen and one Frenchman at Scarborough, but was shortly taken prisoner, with the whole of his followers, who, with the exception of one, were put to death. War with France was declared. As this war was chiefly in the Pope's interests, the bulk of the French army was poured into Italy under the Duke of Guise. It was there destroyed by disease, and the Pope had to make his submission to Alva, Philip's lieutenant. But the absence of the French army in the South had given Philip an opportunity, of which he had taken advantage, of striking a blow from the Netherlands. His army, under Philibert of Savoy, had advanced to St. Quentin, the garrison of which was reinforced by Coligny, who then took the command. To relieve his nephew, and to save a city which barred the road to Paris, Montmorency collected what troops he could, and hurried northward. These troops consisted mainly of the reserves of the country, nobles and their feudal followers. The French suffered a disastrous defeat. Their loss was 4000 killed; and the Constable, Montmorency himself, and many other of the chief nobles of France were among the prisoners. The English were not present, though arriving on the ground soon enough to have a share in the ruthless pillage of the town. The Duke of Guise, irritated at his want of success in Italy, thought to gratify the French people and establish his popularity by winning back Calais, the

France supports them. 1557.

Consequent war.

Battle of St. Quentin. Aug. 10, 1557.

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defences of which had been much neglected, and which the French nation ardently desired to possess. The last reign had been one of great extravagance and waste, and Northumberland and his Council, in the midst of the financial pressure which was always weighing upon them in England, had neglected the supplies and the fortifications of Calais. Mary's reign had been less wasteful, but, as has been seen, she had felt it her duty to divest the Crown of a large portion of its revenue and to restore it to the Church. She too had therefore been obliged to be penurious. The Calais Pale comprised three forts—Calais itself, and the two outlying forts, Guisnes and Hammes. Of these, Guisnes was about three miles from Calais, connected by a line of fortresses; Hammes lay between the two. In these three places there were about sixteen or seventeen hundred men. Grey had a thousand of these at Guisnes, while Wentworth garrisoned Calais with some five hundred, not nearly enough to man the works thoroughly. The commanders knew well that an attack was intended. They wrote urgent letters to England for assistance, and it was resolved that they were too weak to move out of their strongholds till reinforced. Troops were hurriedly collected, and upon some rumour of the falseness of the previous report, as rapidly disbanded. Meanwhile an army of twenty thousand men was encamped at Boulogne, and thirty or forty vessels, with all the apparatus for a siege, were collected at Ambleteuse. On the 1st of January 1558, Calais, on the land side, was invested. The sea was still open, and the entrance to Calais harbour was covered by a castle on the Rysbank, the end of a line of sand mounds which fronted the sea. The other approaches to the sandhills were covered by a bulwark called the Sandgate and a fort called Newnham bridge. On the 2nd of January an attack on Newnham bridge was repulsed, but the Sandgate was captured. The country should have been put under water, but the sluices were out of order, and would have let the salt into the wells. So Wentworth wrote in haste for more assistance, but before he had well finished his letter the Rysbank was attacked from the sea and captured, and the defence of Calais was virtually over. Guisnes might perhaps have been saved, but extraordinary mismanagement prevented the reinforcements from being embarked. The Queen's ships were unseaworthy, and when a transport fleet was collected a storm scattered it; and when Philip of Spain replaced it with a fleet from the Low Countries, the army in despair had disbanded. So Guisnes went with Calais, and the English hold upon France was destroyed. The loss of Calais was a heavy

Loss of Calais.

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blow to England and to Mary. The nation was for the moment roused; money was rapidly voted by Parliament or borrowed abroad; but the persecution, which still continued, had shaken the loyalty of England, and the musters which were collected could not be trusted. One brief success was won by the fleet, with which Clinton had a share in securing the victory for Count Egmont at the battle of Gravelines. But the feeling was growing both in France and Spain that it was time, if the march of Protestantism was to be checked, to put an end to their internecine struggle and to join in the suppression of heresy. The death of Charles V., the old enemy of France, rendered this the more easy. To the French indeed, if they could but retain Calais, a peace brought nothing but advantage, and they offered Philip peace almost on his own terms if he would throw over his allies. As he still had hopes of drawing England to his side by means of the friendship of Elizabeth, even if he could not join it to his kingdom by a marriage with that Princess, he refused to desert his allies, and in the midst of the negotiations the death which had been long threatening Mary came. She died on the 14th of November. Three days afterwards she was followed to the grave by Pole, who, by an almost grotesque turn of fate, had been removed from his position as Legate *a latere* by the present Pope upon a charge of unsoundness of doctrine. Both he and Mary proved their orthodoxy to the end by vigorous persecution.

Negotiations for a European peace. Sept. 1558.

Death of Mary.

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STATE OF SOCIETY.

1485—1558.

IN order rightly to appreciate Henry VIII.'s character, and to understand the position which he occupies in history, it is necessary to understand also the character of the period in which he lived. His greatness consisted in the manner in which he guided England through a period of revolution, and is enhanced when we contrast his reign with those of his immediate successors, nor is it till his daughter Elizabeth completed his work by following in his footsteps that we again see order re-established in the distracted kingdom. The period was one of revolution. It was revolutionary in all directions—in the constitution of the nation, in the social life of the nation, in the religion of the nation.

Revolutionary character of the period.

Throughout Europe the idea of the royal power had changed. The feudal notion of the king being a suzerain among peers had given place to a more modern conception of royalty, which regarded him as the arbitrary master—in some degree the proprietor—of the nation which he ruled. In England this idea found its complete expression first in Henry VII., whose notions of the royal prerogative were so high that the quaint tale is told of him, that he had his mastiffs killed for venturing to bait their royal master the lion:—"the like he did with an excellent falcon because he feared not hand and hand to match with an eagle, saying it was not meet for any subject to offer such wrong to his lord and superior." Personal government thus became the hereditary view of the Tudor sovereigns. Its establishment implied the destruction of feudalism, and of the power and prestige of the old feudal nobility. This change was much accelerated by the bloodshed of the Wars of the Roses. The heaviest part of the destruction wrought by them had fallen on the nobility. It is plain that, though they had

Change in the character of royalty.

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assisted in checking the population, they had in so doing so increased the relation of the national resources to the number of its inhabitants, that the comfort and wellbeing of the bulk of the people was rather increased by them than injured, and, as far as the commonalty was concerned, England soon recovered itself. It was not so with the great houses. The diminution which they had undergone is made sufficiently obvious by the list of temporal Peers summoned to Henry VII.'s first Parliament, who were but twenty-seven in number.[1] They were further weakened by Henry's constant policy, which was directed to destroy the influence they gained from their numerous retainers. More than one statute in the reign was directed against the practice of keeping such followers, and Lord Bacon's story of the heavy fine inflicted upon the Earl of Oxford for his too great magnificence and too numerous household when he received the King is well known.

Of the nobility

The growth and importance of wealth also tended to the decay of the old principle that gentry depended upon lineage. Sir Thomas Smith, in the reign of Edward VI., says

[1] Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford, King's uncle; title extinct 1497.
William Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel; title passed to Duke of Norfolk by marriage 1579.
John de Vere, Earl of Oxford; title extinct 1702.
Edmund Grey, Earl of Kent; title extinct 1740.
William Berkeley, Earl of Nottingham; title extinct 1492.
Edward Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire; title extinct in 1499.
Richard Woodville, Earl Rivers; title extinct in 1492.
Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby.
William Herbert, Earl of Huntingdon; extinct 1486.
Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon.
Ralph Graystock, Knight; the Barony of Graystock passed to Lord Dacre of Gilsland, and thence to the Howards of Carlisle.
Richard de Beauchamp, Knight; extinct 1508.
George Neville de Bergavenny.
Reginald Gray, Knight; forfeited 1604.
Richard de la Warre, Knight; ancestor of the present Earl Delawarr.
Thomas Lomley de Lomley; ancestor of the present Earl of Scarborough.
John Broke de Cobham, Knight; title extinct 1619.
John Blount de Mountjoy, Knight; title extinct 1681.
John Stourton de Stourton, Knight; ancestor of the present Earl Stourton.
John Sutton de Dudley, Knight; title in abeyance.
John Denham of Caredenham, Knight; title extinct 1502.
John Arundel de Maltravers, Knight, son of the Earl of Arundel; title went to Duke of Norfolk.
Edward Grey, Viscount Lisle; title extinct in 1504.
John Grey de Powys, Knight; extinct in 1552.
Henry Clifford de Clifford, Knight; ancestor of the present house of de Clifford.
John Ratcliffe de Fitzwater; title extinct 1641.
William Beaumont, Viscount Beaumont; title extinct 1507.

This list does not represent the whole peerage of England. For political reasons some names are absent. For instance, Howard, Lord Surrey, was under attainder, and the Earls of Northumberland are not mentioned.—Dugdale's *Summons to Parliament.*

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that "none was created a baron who could not dispend a thousand pound per annum, or at least a thousand marks." George Neville, Duke of Bedford, was degraded by Parliament in 1477 because he was poor. The performance also of certain offices was held to make a man a gentleman. In the place therefore of the old nobility and gentry of race there arose a nobility dependent on wealth and on the favour of the Court, who became naturally pliant instruments in the hand of the King, to whom they owed their elevation.[1] On reading the list of the executors of King Henry VIII.'s will, it is at once obvious that not one of them is other than a new-made man.

Under these circumstances the change in the balance of the constitution was complete. Unchecked by its natural counterpoise, the nobility, the Crown was in effect absolute, for the Commons, who might have been expected to step into the place which the nobles had vacated, were brought face to face with the power of the Crown, and, deprived of their natural leaders, had not yet found sufficient strength among themselves to make good their position against it. The King indeed thought fit, when a dangerous or difficult step had to be taken, to support his authority by application to the Commons, and would graciously accept their advice when it chimed in with his own wish or was instigated by his own agents; but how completely they accepted their position of inferiority is shown by the statutes declaring the royal proclamations to have the power of laws,[3] and giving the King the right of nominating his successor by will.[4]

The character of the army.

This change in the character of the nobility necessitated a change in the character of the army. It was no longer the connection between tenant and feudal chief which compelled men to take the field. For defensive purposes the whole nation was regarded as one great army. To each class and rank was appointed its proper equipment, which every individual had to keep up at his own expense; and this militia was placed under the command of the most prominent noble or nobles in the county, who, as lord-lieutenants, were the representatives of the royal power there, and whose duty it was to collect and organize the armed men of their

[1] "And if any knight should have acquired sufficient number of these fees to be able to keep up a great establishment, he may get himself created an earl by the King. Howbeit the present King Henry makes but few."—*Italian Relation*, p. 38.

[2] Thomas, Lord Wriothesley; William, Lord St. John; John Russell, Lord Russell; Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford; John Dudley, Viscount Lisle; Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham; William Paget, Anthony Browne, Edward North, Edward Montague, Anthony Denny and William Herbert.

[3] 31 Hen. VIII.

[4] 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

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district. For foreign war the troops were raised by voluntary enlistment, receiving regular pay and rations during their service.[1] These enlistments were generally made through the medium of some nobleman or gentleman, with whom the King entered into a contract. Thus, in 1492, Henry VII. contracted with George, Earl of Kent, to provide "vj. men of arms, his owne person comprised in the same, every one of them having with him his custrell and his page; with xvj. demi-launces, xvj. archers on horsbak, and lx. archers on fote, of good and hable persons for the warre, horsed, armed, garnished and arrayed sufficiently in all peces and in every thing as after the custume of warre ought to appertayne."[2] It was in accordance with this view of England as an armed nation that laws were made regulating the price of bows, encouraging the importation of bow staves, and insisting upon the substitution of archery for other less useful sports. The distance even at which the butts should be placed was a matter for legislation. Two hundred and twenty yards was the minimum allowed for public practice. In spite of such enactments, however, archery gradually declined, as Latimer tells us:—"Men of England in times past, when they would exercise themselves, for we must needs have some recreation, our bodies cannot endure without some exercise—they were wont to go abroad in the fields a shooting, but now it is turned to glossing and gulling within the house. . . . Charge them upon their allegiance that this singular benefit of God may be practised, and that it be not turned to glossing and bowling within the towns, for they be negligent in executing these laws of shooting."[3] In the place of archery arose the use of firearms. This seems to have necessitated the creation of something like a standing army. There were mercenaries constantly kept at Calais, and the Protector Somerset employed a body of musketeers.[4] At the time of the insurrection in Norfolk and Devonshire, when the state of affairs was critical, and the Government were in need of every man they could get, these troops were brought over and employed against the rebels in pursuance of the advice of Paget.[5] The feeling against the use of mercenaries in civil contests was very strong, and those who fell into the hands of the insurgents met with no quarter: —"abhorred of our party," says Hooker, who was present, "they were nothing favoured of the other."

[1] 33 Hen. VIII. c. 9. [2] See also 7 Hen. VII. c. 1.

[3] *Sixth Sermon before Edward VI.*

[4] "They were assaulted with good courage, on the one side by our footmen, on the other by the Italian harquebutters."—*Despatch of Russell, quoted by Froude.*

[5] "Send for your Allemayn horsemen." Paget to Protector, Strype's *Mem.* vol. iv

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Such a change in the principle which linked the various parts of society together as that which is implied in a change from feudalism to personal government, could not take place without affecting materially the social life of the nation. It has been said that it was no longer race, but wealth, which made the gentleman. The pursuit of wealth therefore became a much greater object than it had hitherto been, and the enjoyment and exhibition of wealth were carried much farther. The Court set the example of this display. Giustiniani, the Venetian Ambassador, in the earlier part of Henry VIII.'s reign, describes in glowing terms the splendour of the young King. He speaks of him as revelling in his conscious strength and beauty and wealth.

Pursuit of wealth.

But the greater nobility by no means fell behind their master. The magnificence of their dress was an object of wonder to foreigners. Indeed constant sumptuary laws were made to restrain the love of dress which was at that time rife in England. Shakspere tells us of the vast expenditure in dress at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. The Duke of Buckingham wore at the marriage of Prince Arthur, in 1501, a gown "wrought of needlework and set upon cloth of tissue furred with sables, the which gown was valued at £1500"—at least £15,000, of our money. Sir Nicholas Vaux wore "a gown of purple velvet, pight with pieces of gold so thick and massy that it was valued in gold beside the silk and fur at £1000; and a collar of Esses, which weighed, as the goldsmiths reported, 800 lbs. worth of nobles."[1] Their wealth, and indeed that of the whole richer part of the nation, is shown in the vast profusion of their households. The necessity for an immense quantity of food was indeed characteristic of the whole people. "I have it on the best information," says the author of the "Italian Relation," "that when the war is raging most furiously they will seek for good eating and their other comforts, without thinking what harm may befall them." An idea of the magnificence of a great establishment may be gained from the entry on the Feast of the Epiphany, 1508, in the household book of Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. On that day there were fed at dinner and supper together 459 persons, and the provision would seem to have consisted of 678 loaves, 66 quarts of wine, 259 flagons of ale (each flagon containing four quarts), 36 rounds of beef, 12 carcases of mutton, 2 calves, 4 pigs, 5 salt fishes and a salt sturgeon, 3 swans,

Ostentation of the English.

[1] Stowe's *Annals*.

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6 geese, 10 capons, 1 lamb, 2 peacocks, 2 herons, 22 rabbits, 18 chickens, 16 woodcocks, 9 mallards, 23 widgeons, 18 teals, 20 snipes, 9 dozen of great birds, 6 dozen of little birds, 3 dozen larks, 9 quails—in all 343 birds. At such feasts there was an astonishing display of plate, which was indeed very characteristic of the English at that time. "There is no small innkeeper, however poor and humble he may be, who does not serve his table with silver dishes and drinking-cups; and no one who has not in his house silver plate to the amount of at least 100 pounds sterling is considered by the English to be a person of any consequence."[1] When Cardinal Wolsey, in 1528, entertained the French Ambassadors at Hampton Court, "there were two banqueting-rooms, in each of which a cupboard extended the whole length of the apartment, filled to the top with plate. And every guest-chamber had a basin and ewer of silver, and a great livery pot of silver, and some gilt; yea, and some chambers had two livery pots, with wine and beer, a silver candlestick, having in it two sizes: yet the cupboards in the banqueting-room were never once touched."[2] The richer English were also profuse in many other articles of luxury; carpets, tapestries, and silks, they were very fond of;[3] and, if we may judge from the inventory of Wolsey's goods, they were in the habit of purchasing large quantities, which they kept in store. This profusion of plate and of articles of luxury, especially in connection with the existing poverty, of which more will be said hereafter, was caused principally by wealth having increased beyond the means of its employment, and by the natural channels for its employment being closed by mistaken legislative enactments. Trade had not yet been much developed, and all export of the precious metals was strictly forbidden, under that mistaken view, which lasted some centuries longer, that the wealth of a nation consisted in the amount of bullion existing in it, and that it could be secured only by the exports being larger than the imports. Thus, while trade at home was limited, there was no means of employing superfluous money in foreign countries. A still further check was given to the employment of wealth by the laws which forbade usury,[4] and by the view that the taking of interest was a sort of moral crime. There

[1] *Italian Relation of England*, p. 29.

[2] Stowe's *Annals*.

[3] Perlin, *Description d'Angleterre* (1552), p. 11: "Les Anglois se servẽt fort des tapisseries, des toilles pinctes, qui sont bien faistes, auxquelles y a force et magnifiques roses, courõnées ou il y a fleurs de Liz et Lions, car en peu de maisons vous pouves entrer que vous ne trouvies cest tapisseries."

[4] 11 Hen. VII. c. 8.

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was no alternative therefore but to hoard wealth, and this explains the lavish expenditure which so astonished the foreign visitor.

Nor was wealth confined to the upper classes. In the earlier part of the time of the Tudors there must have been great comfort of a somewhat rough sort amongst all classes. Prices were very low. Even so late as 1508, half-a-crown appears to have been the price of a calf, little more than a shilling purchased a carcase of mutton, and a round of beef could be bought for ninepence.[1] The Duke of Northumberland's house-book gives the price of sheep at twenty-pence apiece, lean beeves eight shillings apiece; and twopence was the allowed price for a lean capon, threepence or fourpence for a pig. All sorts of food were cheap in proportion. It must not be supposed that this cheapness was accompanied by a proportionate lowness of wages. In a Statute of the year 1494,[2] to settle the amount of labourers' work and wages, with the object no doubt of keeping wages down—for this was the tendency of all legislation at that time—the skilled artificer is allowed fivepence-farthing a day, and the unskilled labourer from threepence to threepence-halfpenny. Two years afterwards this Act was repealed, and wages probably rose a little; sixpence being the regular soldier's pay, which may be supposed to be about the same as that of the artificer. The purchasing power of money was about twelve times what it is now, which would make the ordinary wages thirty-six shillings a week. Such was the comfortable condition of the English at the beginning of the period occupied by the reigns of the Tudors, and before the end of Elizabeth's reign the same general prosperity, or something comparable to it, appears to have again existed. The intervening time was a period of great difficulty and wretchedness. The old state of society was breaking up and seeking new forms. All the conditions of life were undergoing a change, which might almost be called a revolution; and as always happens under such circumstances, this change was accompanied with great suffering. In Henry VII.'s reign, and throughout those of his two successors, the crying evil of English society was vagabondage and pauperism. Repeated statutes[3] were made to restrain this evil, each one more severe than the last, till the

Accompanying poverty.

[1] Duke of Buckingham's household-book.

[2] 11 Hen. VII. c. 22.

[3] 22 Hen. VIII. c. 12: "If any do beg without license, he shall be whipped, or else set in the stocks for three days and three nights, with bread and water only." 27 Hen. VIII. c. 15: "Every sturdy vagabond to be kept in continual labour. . . . A valiant beggar shall at the first time be whipped, . . . and if he continue his roguish life, he shall have the upper part of the gristle of his right ear cut off, and if he be found after that wandering in idleness, etc., he shall be adjudged and executed as a felon."

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severity culminated in Somerset's Statute,[1] reducing able-bodied vagabonds to slavery. As a natural concomitant of vagabondage, came a great amount of crimes of violence and theft. No severity was sufficient to check them. In Henry VII.'s reign, the Venetian narrator observes that it is very easy to get a man apprehended in England: "Such severe measures against criminals ought to keep the English in check, but for all this there is no country in the world where there are so many thieves and robbers in it as in England;" and again, "People are taken up every day by dozens, like birds in a covey, and especially in London; yet for all this they never cease to rob and murder in the streets:" while Perlin, writing of the beginning of Mary's reign, remarks that the justice in England is very cruel, that a man who would in France be whipped would in England be condemned to death; "in truth, there are but two sorts of punishments, to wit, to be hanged or to be beheaded, and thus evildoers gain as much by doing little evil as great;" and yet he speaks of them as a most turbulent and deceitful people.

Consequent crime.

There were many causes at work which tended to produce this deplorable state of things. The spirit of feudalism had been giving place to the mercantile spirit of modern times. Edward IV. had himself engaged largely in mercantile speculations. Henry VII. had not thought it undignified to belong to the corporation of Taylors, henceforward called Merchant Taylors. In his reign, a commercial treaty, called the Great Intercourse, had been made between England and the Low Countries. The discoveries of Columbus, Vasco di Gama, Sebastian Cabot, and others, had increased the spirit of adventure, and opened new fields of traffic, although they were as yet but little used. The spirit of enterprise had, however, taken hold of the traders of London, of whom it is said that "they are so diligent in mercantile pursuits that they do not fear to make contracts on usury."[2] They had thus accumulated considerable wealth, and wealth was now, as feudal influence gave way to that of money, the road to gentility and importance. But that importance was not yet separable from the possession of land. Men of wealth, therefore, tried to acquire land, and the destruction of the nobility during the Wars of the Roses, together with the very numerous forfeitures which attended them, had thrown the land of England largely into new hands, and often into those of the wealthy middle class. The

Causes of poverty and crime.

Mercantile landowners.

[1] 1 Ed. VI. c. 3.

[2] *It. Rel.* p. 23.

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tone of the whole age was likewise very mercenary;[1] and the new possessors of land, whether mercantile or of the new Court nobility, no longer felt the same interest as their predecessors in the number and wellbeing of their tenants. A numerous following of feudal tenants was no longer an object, but the power of wealth was every day increasing. In the eyes of the new holders the land was to be treated like any other investment, so as to produce the best return.

Pasture farms.

With the exception perhaps of tin, the greatest and most lucrative trade of England was wool. It paid better to feed sheep than to plough the land. It was no doubt better political economy, and in the long run more advantageous to England, thus to employ the land. But at the time the injury inflicted on the poor was very great. Tenants and labourers were driven from their farms and cottages, and the land given up to pasture,[2] so that a couple of men could manage a whole farm which had once supported its full supply of ploughmen, labourers, and the like. "For whereas," says Latimer, "have been a great many householders and inhabitants, there is now but a shepherd and his dog."[3] This change affected two classes of men, the yeomen farmers and the labourers. Proprietors found no difficulty in taking pasture farms into their own hands, and added farm to farm. Statutes were made to restrain this practice, but were constantly broken, and the quantity of sheep held in single men's hands became so enormous, that they too had to be restricted by statute.[4] The yeoman farmer thus found himself ousted from his tenancy. The labourer suffered still more. The complete separation from the land which was and still is the marked characteristic of the English labourer, enabled his master to turn him from his employment without difficulty. As the greed for pasture-land increased, his case became still worse. Much of his subsistence was drawn from his rights over common land. His

Diminution of agricultural labour.

[1] "Having no hope of their paternal inheritance, they all become so greedy of gain, that they feel no shame in asking, almost for the love of God, the smallest sum of money, and to this it may be attributed that there is no injury that can be committed against the lower orders which may not be atoned for by money."—*It. Rel.* p. 26. See also the description of the mercenary marriages contracted by the English.

[2] "This town [Bittesby] is long since depopulated, not one house remaining, and converted into sheep pastures."

"Stormesworth hath been an ancient town, but now altogether decayed and converted into sheep pastures."—BURTON'S *Leicestershire.*

[3] *First Serm. before Ed. VI.*

[4] 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13: "No man to have above two thousand sheep." The *Italian Relation* mentions as many as twenty thousand.

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richer neighbours began to enclose this land, and throw it into pasture.[1] His means of subsistence was thus cut off in both directions. He was deprived of his employment, and he lost his private means of life. It was this enclosing of common lands which was the great grievance of the Eastern rebels, and which formed the topic of some of Latimer's most vigorous sermons: "But let the preacher preach till his tongue be worn to the stumps, nothing is amended. We have good statutes made for the Commonwealth, as touching commoners and encloses, many meetings and sessions, but in the end of the matter there cometh nothing forth;"[2] and Somerset's sympathy with the complaints of those who had lost their common rights, and the commission he issued to inquire into enclosures, have been already mentioned as the causes of his fall. In time the increasing manufactures and other forms of commerce absorbed these hands, and the improvement of agriculture restored the proper balance between arable and pasture. But while the process was going on, as in the case of all economic changes, the suffering was great. To these causes of pauperism must be added the number of discharged retainers whom the decrease of feudal military households threw upon the world, and after the destruction of the monasteries, the discharged monks and numerous agricultural servants of the abbeys. The stringent laws directed against vagabonds were useless. There was for the time a real want of work. Sir Thomas More saw this, and writes, "They be cast into prison as vagabonds, because they go about and work not whom no man will set at work, though they never so willingly proffer themselves thereto."[3] That such a mass of unemployed workmen should take to crimes and violence was but natural, more especially as during much of the period any church afforded sanctuary for the evildoer for forty days, besides the great licensed sanctuaries.[4]

Decrease of dependants.

To add to the misery of the people, there was an extremely rapid rise in prices. The chief cause of this was perhaps the natural rise in the value of commodities in comparison

Depreciation of the coinage.

[1] "This lordship hath been long enclosed, affording large sheep-walks."—BURTON'S *Leicestershire.*

[2] *First Serm. before Ed. VI.* [3] *Utopia.*

[4] "Loke me now, how few sanctuarie men there be, whom any favourable necessitie compelled to go thither, and then see what a rabble of thieves, murderers, and malicious haynous traitors there be commonly therein."—MORE'S *Life of Edward V.*

After the Reformation sanctuaries fell into disrepute, but continued to exist. In 1697, an Act was passed for the suppression of the most notorious, and they were finally abolished in the reign of George I., when the Sanctuary of St. Peter's, Westminster, was pulled down. This, and that of St. Martin le Grand, were the two principal in London.

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with silver, caused by the introduction of precious metals from America. But besides that, it may be traced to the depreciation of the coinage which was going on during the latter years of Henry VIII. and through most of the reign of Edward. The country was flooded with testons or bad shillings, and private individuals took advantage of the opportunity. Thus Sharington, Master of the Mint at Bristol, coined no less than £12,000 of false money.

Increasing habits of luxury among the wealthy, and that covetousness which has been already mentioned, and which caused a universal raising of the rents, had also much to do with the misery of the people. The Reformation seems to have produced a directly injurious effect upon the morality of the time. Freed from the restraints of the discipline of the Catholic Church, without any very sure belief in the new doctrines, which indeed had been thrust somewhat unceremoniously on the mass of the nation, rich men were inclined to take advantage of the license of the new creeds without accepting their stricter and more spiritual morality. That there was a deterioration is plain:—"In times past men were full of pity and compassion, but now there is no pity. . . Now charity is waxen cold, none helpeth the scholar nor yet the poor. And in those days what did they when they helped the scholars? marry, they maintained and gave them livings that were very Papists and professed the Pope's doctrine: and now that the knowledge of God's Word is brought to light, now almost no man helpeth to maintain them."[1] And again:—"I full certify you extortioners, violent oppressors, engrossers of tenements and lands, through whose covetousness villages decay and fall down, the King's liege people for lack of sustenance are famished and decayed—they be those which speak against the honour of the King." It was this covetousness and overweening desire for and admiration of wealth which was the crying sin of the time. The honesty even of the Bench was sullied by it:—"The saying is now, that money is heard everywhere; if he be rich he shall soon have an end of his matter."[2] "Now-a-days the judges be afraid to hear a poor man against the rich: insomuch they will either pronounce against him, or so drive off the poor man's suit, that he shall not be able to go through with it."[3] Consequently all proprietors sought to get as much as possible from their land, and the tenant farmers found their rents enormously enhanced. Latimer gives the story of his father's farm, which well shows this increase: "My father was a

Lax morality of Protestantism.

[1] Latimer's *Sermon of the Plough.* [2] Latimer's *Second Sermon before the King.*
[3] *Third Sermon before the King.*

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yeoman and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pound by year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep ; and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able, and did find the King a harness, with himself and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the King's wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went into Blackheath field. He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to have preached before the King's Majesty now. He married my sisters with five pound or twenty nobles apiece. . . . He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor. And all this he did off the said farm, where he that now hath it payeth sixteen pounds by year or more, and is not able to do anything for his prince, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor." Of course, under such circumstances, the prices of agricultural products rose so that "poor men which live of their labour cannot with the sweat of their face have a living, all kind of victuals is so dear; pigs, geese, chickens, capons, eggs, etc. These things, with others, are so unreasonably enhanced ; and I think verily that if it thus continue we shall at length be constrained to pay for a pig a pound." [1]

The same principles which were producing this change in agricultural products were acting on other branches of trade. There too the wholesale dealer was rising, and in both sermons and statutes the evil is pointed out, that poor men should be unable to purchase small quantities, a wholesale seller being able to keep his stock till he could sell advantageously. Efforts were even made to settle compulsory prices, but this was found quite impossible, as was indeed seen by Mason, one of the ablest statesmen of the time, who writes in 1550 to Cecil :—"Never shall you drive Nature to consent that a pennyworth shall be sold for a farthing."

No doubt this growing tendency to wholesale dealing was in accordance with the rules of political economy. The land was more profitably farmed as pasture than as ploughland. The wool which was thus grown gave employment sooner or later to the manufactures, which would absorb the surplus agricultural population, and capital which was before hoarded found a profitable investment in land. So too the wholesale dealer in other goods was enabled to purchase in cheap markets, and to keep his goods till he could sell them well, thus increasing the national wealth and equalizing prices. But the commencement of the system which is now accepted uni-

[1] Latimer's *First Sermon before Edward VI.*

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versally, but which then seemed merely the triumph of selfishness, and which could not work fully because attended by many erroneous notions which laid restrictions on the freedom of trade, could not fail to be attended with much misery.

Change in the position of the Church.

But however great the revolution in the constitution of society and in the economical condition of the kingdom may have been, the Great Revolution, which indeed gives its name to the period, is the change in the position of the Church. In the reign of Henry VII. a foreigner could say, and probably truly, "the clergy are they who have the supreme sway over the country, both in peace and war."[1] The amount of their property was enormous. The same author states that of 96,230 knights' fees, 28,015 belonged to the Church. The number of monasteries was very great. At the time of the dissolution there were 645, and the revenues which are said to have passed into the hands of the Crown are computed at £1,600,000. In addition to this the Church had the advantage of being almost the sole repository of learning. It is true there were some few exceptions. But so completely was it the case that the mere power of reading was regarded as a proof of being in orders, that a criminal, charged with even the gravest offences, might, if he could read, claim to be removed for trial to the ecclesiastical courts. This privilege they had enjoyed since the twenty-fifth year of Edward III., and it did not receive any check till the year 1487, when it was enacted that no layman should be allowed benefit of clergy more than once. He was branded for the first offence, and on any future conviction was punished as a layman. Their superior education naturally threw the chief offices in the administration of the kingdom into the hands of Churchmen. The most trusted ministers of Henry VII. were Morton, eventually Archbishop of Canterbury, and Fox, Bishop of Winchester. Warham, who succeeded Morton, was Chancellor of England; but it was Wolsey, a protégé of Fox, who carried the power of the Church to the highest pitch. Under him it rose to authority and splendour scarcely second to that of the King. Nor was it only by their wealth and learning that Churchmen acquired influence. They had the majority of seats in the Upper House. The decayed state of the temporal peerage has been mentioned. The only class which had not suffered in the civil wars was the clergy. The full number of Bishops (nineteen, and two Archbishops) of course still remained, but besides these, mitred Abbots, to

Its greatness under Henry VII.

[1] *Italian Relation of England*, p. 34.

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the number of twenty-nine, and two or three Priors,[1] had seats in the Upper House. The number of spiritual Lords was thus nearly double that of the temporal. In addition to this the Church had a very large portion of the justice of the country in its hands. It could, as we have seen, draw from the King's courts into its own jurisdiction all criminals who could read. It had, moreover, a complete arrangement of courts holding jurisdiction over moral offences, and all the apparatus necessary for exacting dues upon many of the common events of life, such as the making and execution of wills and the burial of the dead.

Nor were these privileges used with a sparing hand. There are several statutes limiting the right of clergy, which show distinctly that it had been much abused. They complain that, contrary to promise, no regular agreement had been entered into as to the penalties to be inflicted upon criminals thus taken from the King's justice, and assert that consequently such criminals were constantly discharged by the ordinary, after merely nominal imprisonment, on the payment of bribes; while the first step of what can be spoken of as Reformation was the Act limiting exorbitant fees upon wills, and the abuse of mortuaries, or presents for the dead. It is in fact true that in the domestic government, by means of their majority in the House; in foreign affairs, because they alone were, generally speaking, fitted for diplomacy; even in war, because of their ability as organizers; in every branch of social life by their wealth, their judicial power, their rights with regard to the common and necessary events of life, and most generally by their claim to spiritual dominion by the confessional, penance and absolution, it is true to say that the Churchmen at the close of the fifteenth century were by far the most influential class in the kingdom.

Contrast in 1548.

The case was different when, on the passing of the first Act of Uniformity (1548), not only had the management of temporal affairs passed from their hands, but points of doctrine and religious faith were discussed in Parliament and settled by the laity of England. This great change had taken place in the short period which had elapsed since the fall of Wolsey. He had himself been somewhat answerable for it. He was too great and far-seeing a man to admire or tolerate great abuses or great ignorance, and, stickler though he was for the authority of the Church, he did not scruple to form plans of reformation to attempt to improve the general

[1] The number of Abbots and Priors somewhat varied, but there were never less than twenty-five Abbots and two Priors.

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education of the country, or to employ largely able laymen in the service of the State. In fact, the great statesmen who managed the affairs of England, both at home and abroad, till the close of Elizabeth's reign, may be said to have sprung from his school.

Steps of this change.

It was impossible that with regard to learning, at all events, the Church should uphold its monopoly. The revival of literature in Europe had been wholly secular. Greek poetry, Greek philosophy, and Greek morality had been regarded as dangerous by the Church, and although there were some eminent exceptions, scholarship had passed chiefly into the hands of the laity, and the Humanists, as they were called, were looked at but coldly by the stricter moralists of the Church. It was not without difficulty that the study of Greek had been admitted at the English Universities. Here again Wolsey had sided with the Reformers. His appreciation of the necessity of learning was great. He founded a school at his native town, Ipswich, and began a gigantic project for the formation of a great College, called the Cardinal's College, at Oxford, of which Christ Church is all that remains, but which would, if it had been completed, have incorporated several other colleges. Upon the suppression of monasteries it was intended that much of their revenue should be given to education; and though Latimer could still complain of the unfitness of the nobility for the duties of statesmen, and of the necessity of employing Churchmen for the purpose, the very fact that he mentions it proves that a change had taken place. The list of the Privy Council in 1552 contains but two clerical names, and the well-known statesmen and diplomatists, such as Paget, Mason, Cheyne, Sadler, Cecil, and others, were all of them laymen of the middle class.[1] The best-known

Popularization of learning.

[1] List of the Privy Council, 1551-2:—

The Archbishop of Canterbury.
The Bishop of Ely—Lord Chancellor.
Lord Winchester—Lord Treasurer.
The Duke of Northumberland—Lord Great Master.
The Lord Russell—Lord Privy Seal.
The Duke of Suffolk.
The Marquess of Northampton—Lord Great Chamberlain.
The Earl of Shrewsbury.
The Earl of Westmoreland.
The Earl of Huntingdon.
The Earl of Pembroke.
The Viscount Hereford.
The Lord Clinton—Lord Admiral.
Thomas Lord D'Arcy—Lord Chamberlain.
The Lord Cobham.
The Lord Rich.
Sir Anthony Winkfield, K.G.—Mr. Comptroller.
Sir Thomas Cheyne, K.G.—Mr. Treasurer.
Mr. Secretary Petre.
Mr. Secretary Cecil.
Sir Philip Hobbey.
Sir Robert Bowes.
Sir John Gage.
Sir John Mason.
Sir Ralph Sadler
Sir John Baker.
Judge Bromley.
Judge Montague.
Mr. Wotton.
Mr. North.

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names, however, among the English scholars, are Sir Thomas More and Roger Ascham. The first of these, a lawyer, and Chancellor of England after the fall of Wolsey, was a man whose probity and high and simple character, joined with his learning, gave him a European reputation. It was chiefly to visit him that Erasmus, the great scholar of the age, came to England, and his death, under the ruthless sentence of Henry VIII., caused a thrill of emotion throughout Europe. His influence upon learning was however chiefly indirect. The whole man is so interesting, his political life so consistent, his character, though instances of religious persecution can be brought against him, on the whole so liberal and generous, the description of his household at Chelsea given us by his son-in-law and by his friend Erasmus so attractive, and his death-scene so dignified and touching, that it is probably as a man rather than as a scholar that he plays so large a part in the memories of Henry VIII.'s reign. Of his works some historical fragments, and his "Utopia," or modern republic, are the only ones much esteemed now. Roger Ascham was a very different man; an amiable and careless scholar, he was at one time Professor of Greek at Cambridge, several times employed as secretary to foreign ambassadors, but is better known as the tutor and Latin Secretary to both the Queens, Mary and Elizabeth. His principal works are "Toxophilus," an essay on shooting, expressly intended to improve English prose, and "The Schoolmaster" which is full of learning and good sense. But more important than any individual scholars to prove the diffusion of learning, are the facts which are known about the education of so many of the prominent people (especially ladies) of that time. The instructions of Thomas Cromwell to the tutor of his son are still extant. They are almost too onerous. The boy is to be trained in physical exercises as well as intellectual, but when occasion occurs, the two are to be combined, and the conversation, even when riding to the meet, is to be adroitly led to classical and instructive subjects. Such over-zealous care did not produce the desired effect, any more than the similar anxiety of Lord Chesterfield; but the fact that a shrewd man like Cromwell insisted upon such a training for his son, speaks largely for the general feeling on the subject. The precocious ability of Edward VI., the classical and other varied attainments of Lady Jane Grey and of Queen Elizabeth, although it is true that these instances are only drawn from the very highest rank, point to the same fact. The establishment of great schools bears even stronger witness in the same direction. By a strange contradiction of circumstances, while the support of learning at the Universities was decreasing,

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while poor scholars were unable to obtain their usual assistance, and the number of the students was therefore rapidly decreasing, some few individuals began to establish foundation schools. Certain portions of the monastic revenues were devoted to the same purpose; and so much was this the fashion, that the name of Edward VI. is indissolubly connected with our Grammar Schools, though more frequently on account of the grants being completed with his sanction than on account of liberality of his own. Dean Colet's School of St. Paul's, and Christ Church Hospital, in the old Monastery of Grey Friars, are the best known of such establishments.

Consequent failure of credulity.

Against this general diffusion of knowledge it was impossible that the Church should have continued long the hold which superstition gave it upon the multitude. Erasmus describes in his Colloquies, in a thoroughly sceptical spirit, the relics that he saw at Walsingham, when he visited it, accompanied by Aldrich, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle. His disbelief in the authenticity of the relics excited the fury of the official: "What need to ask such questions," he said, "when you have the authenticated inscription?" Erasmus also visited Canterbury, in company with Colet—on this occasion it was the Englishman who was the most sceptical. A dirty rag, said to have belonged to St. Thomas, was offered to him; he, not sufficiently grateful, drew it together with his fingers, not without some expression of disgust, and disdainfully replaced it. He was asked in the neighbourhood to kiss a piece of a shoe with a glass jewel, said to be the shoe of St. Thomas. "What," said he, "do these brutes imagine we must kiss every good man's shoe?" The amount of superstition which had to be overthrown, on the other hand, was very great. England was full of places of pilgrimage, where wonder-working relics were kept and exhibited in the interest of the monks who possessed them.[1] Among the duties of the Commissioners for the dissolution of monasteries, a very important one was the examination of these relics. For instance, we hear at one time of the great wooden Christ, called "Dderfel-Gadern," which was brought from Wales, and burnt under the unfortunate Friar Forest, who was hung in

[1] As a single instance, Leyton the Commissioner says of Maiden Bradley: "By this bringar, my servant, I send yowe relyquis, fyrste, two flowres wrappede in white and blake sarcenet that one Christynmas evyn will spring and burgen and bere blossoms, quod expertum esse, saith the prior of Maiden Bradley; ye shall also receve a bage of reliquis, wherein ye shall se straingels thynges, as shall appere by the scripture, as, Godes cote, Oure lades smoke, Parte of Godes supper in cena domini," etc.—WRIGHT'S *Suppression of Monasteries*, Camden Society, p. 58.

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chains above it. At another time, it is a phial of blood in the village of Hales in Worcestershire, the influence of which even Henry VIII. was not able to withstand;[1] or an image of the Virgin in a priory at Cardigan, with a taper which did not waste for nine years, and was then extinguished by a perjurer;[2] or the Rood at Boxley, which moved its eyes and head, which is the subject of investigation, and of which the imposture is disclosed.

Destruction of the monasteries.

But it was neither in its political nor its learned pre-eminence, nor indeed in the superstitious influence which it exercised, that the great revolution in the Church took place. It was the loss of its wealth and social pre-eminence, by the destruction of the monasteries, which chiefly changed its position. These institutions were at the very summit of their importance. Their splendour rivalled, nay surpassed, that of the greatest nobles. When the Abbot of St. Albans dined, his table was raised fifteen steps above the rest of the hall, and the monks who waited on him sung a hymn at every fifth step. He sat alone in the middle of his table, and guests even of the highest rank were only allowed to sit at the end. Their hospitality was vast also; not only were there daily distributions of fragments to the poor about the gates, but travellers and pilgrims were sure to find a welcome. At St. Thomas's of Canterbury, as at other monasteries, there was a vast hall regularly set and attended every day. They had no difficulty in affording this, for their wealth was enormous. The revenue of the Abbey of Glastonbury is estimated at £3500, or about £35,000 of our money. And this was not quite the richest among them.

It is not probable that in the larger abbeys much disorder reigned beyond what is inseparable from an idle community with considerable wealth at its command and an exemption from the common duties of citizenship. But in the smaller monasteries, where men of lower rank and education constituted the body of monks, and towards which the eye of the public was not often directed, iniquities of the vilest nature were rife. The proof of this is indisputable. Cromwell, no doubt, employed coarse and eager instruments, but the stories given of proved immorality, and of abbots and monks surprised with the evidences of loose life about them, are too circumstantial to be doubted.[3] Not only did profound immorality, but also

[1] *Seventh Sermon before Edward VI.* [2] *Suppression of Monasteries*, p. 188.

[3] This is amply proved by the letters in Wright's *Suppression of Monasteries*. In the same monastery at Maiden Bradley, for instance, Leyton finds "An holy father prior, and hath but vj. children, and but one dowghter mariede yet, of the goodes of the monasterie, trystyng shortly to mary the reste."

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profound ignorance find a home in these smaller societies—ignorance and immorality too which would not be corrected. The Abbot of Warden, in Bedfordshire, gives the following account of his monastry:—"Item, that whereas we by the said injunctions be commanded to have early lecture of divinity, we have none; and when it is read few or none of the monks come to it. Item, I did assign Thomas London to read the divinity lecture, and he undiscreetly did read the books of Eccius Omelies, which books be all carnal and of a brutal understanding. . . . Item, forasmuch as I did perceive ignorance was a great cause why these my brethren were thus far out of good order and in continual unquietness, . . . I caused books of grammar to be bought for each of them, and assigned my brother to instruct them, but there would come none to him but one Richard Baldock and Thomas Clement. Item, they be in number fifteen brethren, and except three of them, none understand nor know their rule, nor the statutes of their religion." The rest of the letter describes a threatened assault upon himself for his attempts at reform, and instances of the grossest immerality.

The condition of the monasteries had been known for years. Both Warham and Wolsey had inquired into them, and intended to reform them. It may have been his knowledge of this plan of his former master's which suggested to Cromwell's essentially secular mind the idea of at once striking a blow at the Church, removing a real abuse, and replenishing the King's exchequer. It is certain that the idea was acted upon very thoroughly.

In the autumn of 1535 a general visitation of monasteries was ordered, and a commission was appointed for the purpose. Of this commission the most vigorous members appear to have been Legh and Leyton, who went to work at their somewhat disgusting duties as if they found pleasure in them. There were others who were almost as keen in the work. The process of visitation was a vigorous and summary one. All other ecclesiastical authority over the monasteries were removed, and the visitors were practically absolute. "My Lord of Lincoln visited here," says Leyton, "and through his diocese in these parts only to prevent the King's visitation . . . to the derogation of my Lord of Canterbury's power and prerogative metropolitan given him by the King's highness. If he will so suffer his power to be contemned it is pity he should have his mitre." Armed with this authority, the commissioners proceeded at once to the monasteries, called the monks together, and in many instances at all events, told all who wished it they were free to go. Such as left

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the monastery were supplied with priests' dress, if they were men, or secular dresses, if women. There seem to have been a considerable number who availed themselves of this permission. We find Legh writing to ask Cromwell :—"Also I desire you to send me word what shall be done with these religious persons, which, kneeling on their knees, holding up their hands, instantly with humble petition desire of God, the King, and you, to be dismissed from their religion, saying they live in it contrary to God's law and their conscience."[1] Again, Margaret Vernon, an abbess, writes to ask "what way shall be best for me to take, seeing there shall be none left here but myself and this poor maiden."[2] When the monastery was thus cleared of its unwilling inhabitants, all the rest were shut up. Such were the injunctions given ; there seems to have been some little difference in practice, for we find, among others, Legh complaining that "Mr. Doctor Leyton hath not done the same in places where he hath been, but licensed the heads and masters to go abroad, which I suppose maketh the brethren to grudge the more." This restriction was no doubt very irksome, as was also the closing up of all private entrances to the monasteries, one entrance alone being allowed. When they were thus secured in their houses, evidence was taken of all sorts, inventories of their property made, their accounts and leases carefully examined, and their morality sifted. Evidence of a very poor kind was accepted, and informers were no doubt plentiful. Nor was this all,—the more zealous visitors at all events set to work with a preconceived notion of the guilt of the monks, and as experience strengthened this belief, no denial would avail. At the College of Newark, in Leicester, the monks would not confess—"The abbess here is confederate, we suppose, and nothing will confess. The abbot is an honest man and doth very well, but he hath here the most obstinate and factious canons that ever I knew." And so Dr. Leyton says he will bring against them specific charges, which he confesses he had never heard brought against any of them, but confession of which he hopes to wring from them. If after such examination much was found amiss, whether gross immorality or gross mismanagement, which seems to have been very common, the visitors had power to compel surrender at once.[3] The mismanagement is curious, the living being often beyond the income of the monastery, and the lands being let on

[1] *Sup. Mon.* xxxvi. [2] *Sup. Mon.*, Letter xxii.

[3] Thus in Kent the Commissioners report, "We have been at the monasteries of Laydon, Dover and Folkestone, and have taken a clear surrender of every of the same monasteries."

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ridiculous leases. In the Charterhouse, for instance, the yearly revenue of the house is put at £642, 0s. 4d., and the provision for living as amounting to £658, 7s. 4d. "I learn here," says the visitor, "that heretofore, when all victual was at a convenient price, and also when they were fewer persons in number than they now be, the proctor hath accounted for a thousand pounds a year, their rental being but as above, which costly fare, buildings and others, were then borne by the benevolence and charity of the city of London." He also complains that "to the cloistered door there are no less than four-and-twenty keys in four-and-twenty persons' hands; also to the buttery door there be twelve sundry keys in twelve men's hands, wherein seemeth to be small husbandry." The causes on which they insisted on surrenders were sometimes trivial enough. There is an excellent letter from the Abbot of Faversham, urging that his age was no valid reason for surrendering his monastery.

By February 1536 sufficient evidence was collected, and many surrenders and dissolutions already effected. Here and there abbeys were well reported of, though scarcely any by either Legh or Leyton. Thus the Abbot and convent of Ramsay was praised. George Giffard begs that Woolstrope Abbey may be unsuppressed. The nuns of Polesworth are declared pure, and Latimer entreats for the Priory of Great Malvern. Enough, however, had been collected to show that there was really a vast amount of wickedness in the monasteries, and the King and Parliament being alike interested in the matter, a statute was passed declaring the dissolution of all monasteries under two hundred a year rental, excepting any which the King might except; their property, saving the vested rights of leaseholders, was the King's absolutely. The monks who still wished to keep their orders were drafted into the larger abbeys. There was at once a scramble for the prey. Abbots clamoured to be placed in the list of exceptions. Founders, or founders' kin, begged for their foundations, or that the temporality should be returned to them, or that at least they should have the right of pre-emption. Needy courtiers begged for grants of the confiscated land. Sir Thomas Elliot, a scholar and a diplomatist, begs Cromwell in cringing terms "so to bring me into the King's most noble remembrance, that of his most bounteous liberality it may like his highness to reward me with some convenient portion of the suppressed lands." Humphrey Stafford writes, "And if it would please your mastership to be so good master unto me as to help me to Warspryng Priory, I were and will be whilst I live your bedeman."

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But Cromwell saw before him a still larger prey. It did not suit him to proceed so arbitrarily with the larger foundations as he had done with the smaller ones; but their fate was sealed. In the course of the next few years the larger number of them were frightened, or cajoled into voluntary surrender. If voluntary surrender seemed impossible, there was nearly always some cause found to give colour to the deposition of the abbot, and his place was occupied by some one ready to please the King by immediate surrender. The monks of the Charterhouse had been particularly obnoxious to the Crown. Thomas Bedyll, one of the commissioners, after congratulating Cromwell on the death of most of them, begs him to have pity on the Lord Prior of the same, "which is as honest a man as ever was in that habit . . . and now at last, at mine exhortation and instigation, constantly moved and finally persuaded his brethren to surrender their house, lands and goods into the King's hands, and to trust only to his mercy and grace. I beseech you, my Lord, that the said Prior may be so entreated by your help that he be not sorry and repent that he hath feared and followed your sore words and my gentle exhortation made unto him to surrender his said house." The Abbot of St. Alban's was a most obstinate patient: "In all communications and motions made concerning any surrender, he showeth himself so stiff that, as he saith, he would rather choose to beg his bread all the days of his life than consent to any surrender." Legh and Petre, the commissioners, ask, therefore, whether they shall go on with the process of deprivation, "for manifest dilapidation, making of shifts, etc., which done, the house will be in such debt, that we think no man will take the office of abbot here upon him, except any do it only for that purpose to surrender the same into the King's hands." When the surrenders were made, the houses were treated as at once belonging entirely to the Crown. The prior and the monks were pensioned, but the pensions were very small, and the clear profit to the Crown great. Thus the Abbey of St. Andrew's, Northampton, had an income of about four hundred a year; the prior's and subprior's pensions were left "till the Lord Privy Seal's pleasure was known therein." One of the monks, aged thirty-six, was given a small vicarage in Northampton, of the yearly income of seven pounds, which was in the gift of the abbey, and happened to be vacant. Four above the age of forty were given four pounds a year apiece: two about thirty, sixty-six shillings and eightpence each; and three younger than that, fifty-three and fourpence. Thirty-five pounds, therefore, out of the four hundred of income, covered all the

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pensions except the prior's and sub-prior's. The property belonging to the abbeys was carefully looked into and made to produce its proper rent. At this same abbey of Northampton there was an instance of the absurd way in which it had been before managed. Their income had shrunk considerably, but not in this prior's time: "But surely his predecessors pleasured much in odoriferous savours, as it should seem by their converting the rents of their monastery, that were wont to be paid in corn and grain, into gilly-flowers and roses." All the wealth of the property, relics, jewels, etc., were carefully inventoried, and in large part sold, and the houses themselves stripped of their lead and bells and glass, and the very materials sold to the neighbouring gentry, the churches sometimes, but not often, being spared.[1] In 1539 an Act was passed, not for dissolving monasteries—that had been done already—but for vesting their property in the King. The work was then virtually finished, and the Parliament, which had counted in its first session, beginning in April 1539, twenty abbots among its members, began its second session in April 1540 with none. Two or three abbots who remained obstinate, such as Beche of St. John's, Colchester, Coke of Reading, and Whiting of Glastonbury, were entangled in charges of treason and beheaded.

Outward appearance of England.

While the Revolution was thus proceeding in all directions, and in all classes of society, the outward appearance of England did not change much. Visitors, both in Henry VII.'s reign and in Elizabeth's, mention the abundance of pasturage, the comparative paucity of agriculture, and the great quantity of open country stocked with game. "Agriculture is not practised in this island beyond what is required for the consumption of the people. . . . This negligence is, however, atoned for by an immense profusion of every comestible animal, such as stags, goats, fallow-deer, hares, rabbits, pigs, and an infinity of oxen, which have much larger horns than ours, which proves the mildness of the climate, as horns cannot bear excessive cold. . . . Common fowls, pea-fowls, partridges, pheasants, and other small birds, abound here above measure."[2] The roads were set deep between hedges, and Perlin tells us how there were steps up from the deep roads to the fields above through the hedges. The houses of the common people were mostly mud hovels, but we are told in Elizabeth's reign the people in them fared like kings. The thinness of the population was remarkable. The wars at home and abroad of the last century had made

[1] See Scudamore's accounts in the *Suppression of Monasteries.*

[2] *Italian Relation.*

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great havoc among the people; disastrous sweeping diseases, bred probably in part by uncleanness, had still further thinned them. Such as there were dwelt in very scattered hamlets, one of the changes of the period being the rise of large villages and small towns. The decay of towns is one of the most frequent complaints met with in the Statute-Book; though this was partly caused, perhaps, by the general smallness of the population, and by unskilful legislation with regard to trade, it depended more upon the fact that the mercantile proprietors began to attract labourers around their own dwellings. The rules of the guilds and corporations were very oppressive, and workmen sought refuge from them in the villages. There is a striking Act in the twenty-fifth year of Henry VIII., which interdicts under penalties manufacture in hamlets and villages, "because persons inhabiting them both farmed lands and occupied the mysteries of cloth-making, weaving," etc. The efforts of the great towns to retain their monopolies were vigorous. There are many statutes restricting places where certain trades may be carried on. The whole system of trade was indeed one of restriction. Again and again were prices fixed; rules were made insisting upon the authorized examination and marking of goods to secure their purity. The number of apprentices was limited. The jealousy of foreigners was so great that in some of the national branches of trade no foreign apprentices were admitted.[1] The frequent repetition of such statutes marks their futility; in fact here, too, change from the mediæval to the modern state was being effected, and the primary laws of competition and of supply and demand were forcing themselves into notice.

But if other large cities decayed, London continually grew. Its wealth and splendour are admitted on all hands. "In one single street, named the Strand, leading to St. Paul's, there are fifty-two goldsmiths' shops, so rich and full of silver vessels, great and small, that in all the shops in Milan, Rome, Venice and Florence put together, I do not think there are to be found so many or of the magnificence to be seen in London."[2] The streets were, it is true, built chiefly of timber, or at best of brick, and the paving was intrusted to the individual care of each householder; but the City abounded with every article of luxury as well as with the necessaries of life, while through it ran the clear, beautiful Thames, "in which it was truly a beautiful thing to behold one or two thousand tame swans

[1] The pewterers, for instance.

[2] *Italian Relation.*

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swimming."[1] No doubt much impurity must have found its way into the river, but the art of draining was not as yet well developed, and "crows and ravens croaked at pleasure in the streets, no man regarding the omen." There was even a penalty for destroying them, for they were the scavengers, and kept the streets of the town free from filth. For the same reason kites were tolerated, "which were so tame that they would take from the children's hands bread smeared with butter, Flemish fashion, which their mothers gave them." The common houses in London were gable-ended wooden edifices, each storey jutting over the one beneath it. The lighting was not particularly good. Lanterns were hoisted on the top of Bow steeple that people might find their way with greater security.

Building was one of the favourite amusements of the rich in the time of Henry VIII. Wolsey was lavish in his expenditure on this point, indeed dangerously so for his own safety, during his retirement at York; extravagance is one of the charges against him. Hampton Court he built and gave to the King. His palace of York Place, afterwards Whitehall, was magnificent. Somerset was also a great builder, and, as has been said, spared not even churches to supply him with room and material for his new palace.

In such houses as these there was a great display of splendour, especially in times of festivity. Sumptuous masks, strange dressings-up, which appear to us almost childish, and must, one would think, have been very dull, were the delight of the time. The same sort of amusement was carried on out of doors. King Henry and his wife used to go Maying. The King and his archers would be up betimes, and dressed in Lincoln green, go into the woods of Greenwich. The Queen and her maidens, in some rich and peculiar dress, would ride out later in the day and be captured by the gallant outlaws, who feasted them nobly in sham fortresses of bushes. In less distinguished society amusements were of a somewhat more solid description. Then, as now, Englishmen could do nothing without eating. Their meals were large and heavy, and usually, if they had friends with them, taken at taverns. Of wine they drank but little, but they were very fond of beer, and although silent at their meals, found time frequently to pledge their guests. At Court there was great rage for gambling; the largest disbursements, with the exception of those for jewels, in Henry VIII.'s Household Book are for gambling debts. He seems, indeed, to have had a taste for not the highest company; Domingo, the black, and the gentlemen and

[1] *Italian Relation.*

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grooms of his chamber were his constant associates. Games of chance were well liked, too, by the commonalty, though the King seems to have thought them a royal monopoly, as they are frequently forbidden by statute and proclamation. They were, however, chiefly combined with manly exercise, consisting of tennis, bowls, and games of that sort. In opposition to these the lovers of old-fashion were always vaunting archery and martial exercises; nor, perhaps, were they very wrong; for, though crimes of imposture and fraud were much upon the increase, and went on increasing, crimes of violence, as we have stated, were very common, and the ploughman still ploughed with his sword or bow and buckler lying in the corner of the field.

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ELIZABETH.

1558—1603.

Born, 1533.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Scotland.	*France.*	*Spain.*	*Germany.*
Mary, 1542.	Henry II., 1547.	Philip II., 1556.	Ferdinand I., 1558.
James VI., 1567.	Francis II., 1559.	Philip III., 1598.	Maximilian II., 1564.
	Charles IX., 1560.		Rodolph II., 1576.
	Henry III., 1574.		
	Henry IV., 1589.		

POPES.—Paul IV., 1555. Pius IV., 1559. Pius V., 1566. Gregory XIII., 1572. Sixtus V., 1585. Urban VII., 1590. Gregory XIV., 1590. Innocent IX., 1591. Clement VIII., 1592.

Archbishops.	*Chancellors.*
Matthew Parker, 1559.	Sir Nicholas Bacon, 1558.
Edmund Grindal, 1576.	Sir Thomas Bromley, 1579.
John Whitgift, 1583.	Sir Christopher Hatton, 1587.
	Sir John Puckering, 1592.
	Sir Thomas Egerton, 1596.

ELIZABETH was at Hatfield when the news of the Queen's death was brought to her. Thither, on the 20th of November, a number of peers and gentlemen collected to acknowledge and congratulate her. She had already been proclaimed in London with the unanimous consent of Lords and Commons, for Parliament was sitting at the time, although dissolved by the late Queen's demise. After the Queen had received the Council at Hatfield, and had implied that no great change was in prospect, Cecil, who had all along acted as her adviser, and had already taken steps to secure her quiet accession, took the oaths as Secretary. She addressed him with solemn words of confidence:—"This judgment I have of you," she said, "that you will not be corrupted with any manner of gifts, and that you will be faithful to the State, and that without respect to my private will you will give me that counsel which you think best." Her confidence was not misplaced. Never had prince a more devoted minister, or one

Elizabeth receives the news of Mary's death. Nov. 17, 1558.

Appoints Cecil Secretary.

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more ready to give all for the least possible return, and never has princess wanted a devoted adviser more.

Religious and foreign policy of the reign, under the difficult circumstances of the country.

The last reign had done nothing towards raising England to that independent position among European nations which it had lost under the reckless and fatal government of Northumberland. It was held abroad as necessary that the country should be protected by one or other of the great rivals, and add its weight and influence to that of its protector. It was still regarded as the prize and prey of the strongest and most skilful player. The task which Elizabeth and Cecil set themselves was to pick their way so nicely amid the various dangers that beset them, to play off so skilfully the jealousy of the great powers, that England, contradicting all expectations, might in time find itself strong enough to stand alone. The greatness of the Queen and her minister in the first part of her reign is marked by this, that a plan apparently so desperate was successful. To this object the Queen added another, in which she probably sympathized with by far the larger part of the nation. She was desirous to be free from Rome. Cecil, with far broader views and deeper insight into the necessities of the future, went much further, and desired the restitution of Protestantism. It was this double object which, though it seemed at first the great danger of the reign, and though it really gave to the whole of it a character of trouble and indecision, enabled the Queen and Cecil to attain ultimate success. Had there been no obstacle to the friendship with Spain at the beginning of the reign, Elizabeth would in all probability have fallen under its influence; for Philip had been her friend throughout her most difficult times, and, unable to secure any footing for himself in England, was ready to accept his sister-in-law as his representative, nay, even offered to draw tighter the bond which connected them, and to marry her. Had these overtures been accepted, England must have bidden farewell to all hope of an independent position in Europe; and had it not been for the steps towards Protestantism which were taken immediately on her accession, it is probable that this natural friendship would have resulted. These steps however were so opposed to the feelings of Philip, that they compelled him to hold somewhat aloof, although his interest in keeping England from France was too strong to allow him to withdraw his general support from the Queen. Resting upon this support, and strong in the persuasion that nothing but very violent measures would induce Philip to withdraw it, Cecil and the

Based on a knowledge of the jealousy between France and Spain.

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Queen could venture some distance along the road to Protestantism, and could bid defiance to the immediate danger which was threatening them from France. On this side the Queen's position was most perilous. The Spanish support of the Protestant Queen inclined the fervid Roman Catholics to look for assistance from the French; nor, though throughout the last reign it had been constantly friendly to Elizabeth, had this Court any objection to enact the part of protector to the Catholics. The heir of the Scotch branch of the royal family—Mary Queen of Scots, who was recognized by many Catholics as the rightful Queen, and by many more as having a rightful claim to the succession—had married the Dauphin Francis, and this match had excited the hope that Scotland, England and France might one day be joined under one crown, and that this powerful united kingdom, cleaving asunder Spain from its great mercantile dependency the Netherlands, might assume a paramount ascendancy in Europe. It was by the skilful management of the jealousy thus aroused between the two possible supporters of the Catholics of England, that Cecil was enabled to continue in an independent and Protestant career, till events in France removed all danger from thence. England then found itself strong enough to follow the course which European events had been gradually forcing upon it, to let the discontented Catholics fall back upon Spain as their natural support, to break with that country, and bid defiance to the united Catholics of Europe.

Threatened danger from France.

To pursue with success such a course, where every step was beset with twofold difficulties, and watched by the jealous eyes of the ablest diplomatists of the Continent, required a firmness of purpose, an adroitness in the employment of means, and a power of dissimulation such as belonged to few statesmen. These qualities were possessed in a remarkable degree by Cecil, and by Walsingham, who upon Cecil's appointment as Treasurer became Secretary of State. Cecil had also a wonderful power of clearly comprehending the state of affairs at any given moment, an almost pedantically methodical habit of balancing the advantage and disadvantage of any line of action, and, what was most important in his situation, a power of tolerating and pleasing one of the most strange and capricious women who ever sat upon a throne.

Character of Elizabeth's ministers.

Elizabeth was gifted with an excellent intellect, which she had cultivated carefully. She spoke several languages fluently, had read a certain quantity of the classics, and was ready with such repartee as might well pass for wit in a Queen.

Peculiarities of the Queen.

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Nor was her intellect superficial; she had a very clear insight into the state of affairs around her. But she had two peculiarities which rendered her most difficult to deal with. She had a rooted dislike to making up her mind, and this defect she tried to carry off, or even turn to advantage, by adopting a line of conduct which the tendencies of the age rendered only too common. Craft and intrigue were the characteristics of the public life of the time. Of these Elizabeth had a large share, and was able to cover her vacillation by constant waiting upon the chances of the future, and by a double-faced line of action, supported by a perfect disregard for truth. Her own ministers could never be sure that she was not betraying them. No foreign powers to whom she had promised assistance could be sure that she would not refuse to recognize her promises when the time arrived, and the only way by which Cecil could keep her in the desired path was by suddenly engaging her in some measure from which she could not withdraw. Added to this constitutional vacillation, she possessed two quite different sides to her character. She was at once a prudent and intriguing Queen, and a vain coquettish woman. She was thus always expecting from those who approached her profound respect and admiration, and traded on the immunities of her sex so far as to require great sacrifices to be made for her. She would thus commission her commanders and diplomatists to follow a certain course of action, but expect them, if the expedition failed or the intrigue was discovered, to exonerate her from all blame, and to assert that they had acted on their own authority. Worse than this, although in the main she sought the good of her country and followed the advice, if judiciously administered, of her wisest counsellors, she was constantly surrounded by a second circle of favourite courtiers, on whom she lavished all the lucrative places and monopolies which she had at her disposal, and whose influence, exerted for selfish and unpatriotic ends, increased her own constitutional tendency towards double-dealing. They were, it is true, in nearly every case men of ability, but retained their position by flattery and courtier-like arts, and were allowed to take liberties which in some instances threatened seriously to compromise her character. The Queen's purely feminine and coquettish side rendered it also very difficult to know what she would be inclined to do when suitors came about her; and as much of the politics of the day depended upon her marriage, there was always this difficult element to take into consideration.

It was this wayward, capricious, vacillating, intriguing, but withal high-intentioned woman that Cecil, and those who thought

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like him, had to guide. They were by no means always successful. The time arrived when a straightforward adoption of Protestant interests appeared to them the only honourable and politic course. But although, in the long run, they succeeded in forcing Elizabeth into the championship of European Protestantism, they were constantly thwarted by her irresolution and determined preference for double-dealing.

Two questions at once presented themselves for solution—religion, and the cessation of the late disastrous war. Spanish statesmen and the larger number of Englishmen thought that the Queen would be obliged to act as the creature of Philip or be crushed between the power of Spain and France. It was not certain whether a change of religion was possible in the face of such a necessity. But Cecil rightly appreciated the popular feeling. He knew he could rely upon the middle class of England for support in Protestant measures, and felt certain that the nobility would not fail him in measures leading to national independence. Till Parliament could be called, however—and it was to meet in the middle of January 1559—there was an anxious time. Nothing could have been at once more cautious and more determined than the steps which were taken. A few of Mary's most intimate counsellors seem to have left the Council, but many of them were retained, while a few trusty partisans of the Protestant religion were added, including Russell, Earl of Bedford, Parr, Marquis of Northampton, Francis Knowles, and Sir Nicholas Bacon as Chancellor. The Liturgy was so far altered that certain parts of it, including the Gospel and Epistle and the Creed, were allowed to be read in English, as in Henry VIII.'s reign, and the elevation of the Host at Mass was forbidden. But at the same time the tendency on the part of the Ultra-Protestants to forestall their triumph was sharply checked, and unlicensed preaching strictly forbidden. But in secret, a committee of divines, with the knowledge only of Cecil and two or three devoted counsellors, were revising and correcting the English Liturgy of Edward VI., ready for the approaching Parliament.

Gradual establishment of the English Church.

Even such slight measures as were taken excited the astonishment of the Spanish minister, who thought the Queen was running headlong to destruction, especially when, early in 1559, Philip instructed him to propose formally for the hand of the Queen, and the proposal was rejected. It was plain to Cecil that, happen what would, for the present at all events Philip must stand by England. Churchmen, however, shared so certainly in the belief of the approaching failure

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of the Queen, that nearly all the Bishops ventured to refuse to crown her. The ceremony was performed by Oglethorpe of Carlisle.

On the 25th of January 1559, Parliament met. Cecil had not reckoned too much on its Protestant character. No doubt, as was usual, it was in some degree a packed Parliament. It at once proceeded to active measures. The first-fruits, which Mary had resigned, were restored to the Crown, and the necessary subsidies granted. The Lower House, headed by the Speaker, then had an audience with the Queen to entreat her to marry. It seemed to everybody the one necessary thing. Had she died, it was almost certain that Henry of France would make good the claim of his daughter-in-law Mary, and England would be annexed to France. They mentioned no particular suitor, for which she thanked them, while on the general question she replied in an ambiguous answer, saying that the kingdom was her husband, and that she hoped to die a Virgin Queen, but that if she married she would choose a husband who would be as careful of the interests of the nation as she was herself. The Commons seem to have regarded this as a favourable answer, and as implying that she would marry a subject. They then proceeded with their religious reform. A Supremacy Act was at once brought forward, by which the Queen was declared Supreme Head of the Church, and all the jurisdiction of the Papal See was done away. But at first there was considerable difficulty in introducing into it any change of dogma. The clergy had declared against all change, and it was thought decent to hold a public disputation on the matter. This was carried on before Sir Nicholas Bacon, the new Lord Keeper, Cecil's brother-in-law, who was appointed Moderator. The arrangements made told considerably in favour of the Protestants, and, on the Catholic champions refusing to continue the argument unless these arrangements were changed, they were declared vanquished, two of them committed to prison, and the rest ordered to absent themselves from the Court. Unopposed by them, the statute at length passed, declaring the Queen Supreme Head of the Church, repealing the Acts of the late reign which had revived the statutes against heresies,[1] and giving the Queen power to appoint commissioners to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction. For the maintenance of the Act, it was ordered that an oath to accept it would be offered to all ecclesiastical persons, all temporal judges and officers, and any one receiving money of the Queen. At the same time it was made punishable to uphold by express word, deed or writing, any foreign authority in the country.

[1] 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, c. vi.

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The next measure was the reform of the Liturgy. The Prayer Book which had been prepared in secret was produced and accepted, and the Act of Uniformity ordered that it should be used in every church, and that all persons inhabiting the realm should attend church under a shilling fine. The work of the last reign was thus undone, and England was again and for ever disunited from the Roman Church.

Peace with France, and Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis.

The Queen's courage in refusing Philip, and in pursuing this line of policy so distasteful to him, is the more obvious when we remember that during the same time she was engaged in negotiations in which her chief reliance was on Spanish support. If Spain did not stand her friend, it was impossible for her to hope for the restoration of Calais. In the autumn of the last year, Philip and Henry II., after a fruitless campaign, had both expressed willingness to come to terms, and commissioners had met at Cercamp to discuss the terms of peace. In fact, the condition of their respective dominions[1] led them both to observe that a common danger was threatening them, and that all their efforts would be wanted to suppress the rising Protestants. But although thus pacifically disposed, Philip stood honourably by his allies, and there was every chance of a final breach in the negotiations if Calais was not restored. In fact the Spaniards saw plainly that it was much for their interest that that fortress should be held by the English as a check upon France in the direction of the Netherlands. Henry II., under these circumstances, opened a private negotiation with Elizabeth, by the intervention of the Protestant and anti-Guise party in his Court. He wished the negotiations to be carried on in some private village. This Elizabeth refused, and insisted upon the treaty being publicly made, but did not hide from Philip that she intended for her own safety to make a separate peace. This peace was concluded on the 2nd of April ... Calais was left in the hands of ... ce, to be restored in eight ... the other articles of ... ace were kept; if it ... France was to pay ... red thousand crow... claim to the thro... ue good; if the ... France or Scotl... y was void.

Freed from ... with the E... his peace wit... ch was to ...

[1] In 1557 pe... ready begun ... Assembly in ... ons, had to ... blies of five ... not in ...

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between himself and the French Princess Elizabeth. The treaty, one of the avowed objects of which was the suppression of Protestantism, is called the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. At the festivities attending the marriage, Henry II. was killed by Montgomery, a Scotch gentleman, with whom he was tilting. His death put upon the throne Francis II., weak both in body and mind; and party questions in France preventing any rapid action, postponed the steps which might otherwise have been taken in favour of Mary the Scotch Princess, now Queen of France.

Death of Henry II. July 10, 1559.

Before this, the Oath of Supremacy had been tendered to the clergy. All the Bishops but two had declined to accept it and been driven from their sees, which were given to the most learned of the Protestant divines which could be found—Matthew Parker being selected as Archbishop of Canterbury. The lesser clergy had been less scrupulous; only about eighty are said to have been displaced. So England was still full of an influential class who were secret enemies to the Government.

General acceptance of the Oath of Supremacy.

Elizabeth had thus far carried her point successfully. Thanks to the jealousy of France, she had freed herself from Spain without losing its support, while the change of religion in England had been carried out without difficulty. For some time to come it was France and French influence which was to be her great enemy. This she was now ready to meet. The battle was to be fought in Scotland. It is therefore necessary to observe somewhat closely the political condition of that country.

From the time of the battle of Pinkie, 1547, all hopes of a friendly arrangement with Scotland had been at an end, and the Scotch, in their anger against England, turned to their old alliance with France. In 1550 a peace was made between England and France in which Scotland was included, and the bitter war which had been raging ceased. The French influence was now completely paramount, the young Queen was in France and contracted with the Dauphin, and in the year 1554 Arran was persuaded to resign the regency and his son's claim to the Queen's hand, and Mary of Lorraine, the Queen-Dowager, became Regent. Arran was rewarded for his compliance with the Duchy of Chatelherault. Unable to comprehend the government of a constitutional country, the Regent relied much on Frenchmen, and tried to establish fortresses garrisoned by French in different parts of the country. She attempted also to establish a body-guard as a nucleus for a standing army. All these steps excited the jealousy of the

State of affairs in Scotland.

Regency of Mary of Guise.

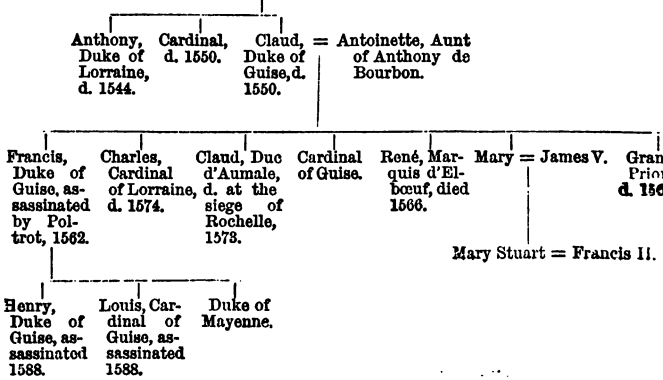
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Scotch, and tended to make them hate the French as much as they had formerly hated the English. This feeling was further strengthened by the marriage of Mary with the Dauphin, which was completed in April 1558, with secret arrangements that Scotland should become in reality the possession of the House of Valois. Little more than a year completed this work, for on the death of Henry II. (July 1559) the Dauphin became King of France under the title of Francis II., and Mary of Scotland Queen.

Rise of the Lords of the Congregation.

The nobles, to whom the power of France had become an object of dread, found support in the growing power of the Reformation. A united opposition was formed. The party opposed to the French and the eager Reformers made common cause. In December 1557 a document was issued known as the First Covenant,[1] and the leaders of the organization took the title of the Lords of the Congregation. An act of religious persecution brought matters to extremities. Walter Mill, an old man of eighty, was burned, and the Protestant party was roused to fury. The Regent at first temporized, and seemed inclined to give way to them, but instructions from her brothers of the House of Guise,[2] now rapidly rising to the chief authority in France, decided her henceforward to oppose the Reformation with all her power. In pursuance of this policy, and in the spirit of the treaties of 1559, she issued a summons to the preachers of Perth to appear before the Privy Council, for having there introduced the Reformation, and read

[1] See note, page 584. [2] René II., Duke of Lorraine.



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the service from Edward VI.'s Prayer Book. The preachers did not appear, and were outlawed; probably they offered to appear, but with so large a multitude behind them that the Regent refused to see them. There was at all events a meeting assembled, at Perth, and there John Knox, who had just arrived from France, preached a stirring sermon. A riot was the consequence, in which some religious houses were sacked. This was the work of rioters and not of Reformers, and the nobility, even the Lords of the Congregation, could not refuse to join the Regent to suppress the riot. Argyle, Lord James Stuart, Lord Semple, and other Protestant leaders, advanced against Perth. A compromise was there effected, by which it was arranged that no French troops should enter the city. The Regent evaded these stipulations, and the Lords of the Congregation who had sided with her took the opportunity of joining their old friends. The Lords of the Congregation took up arms; St. Andrews was taken, Fifeshire cleared of the French, and on the 29th of June Edinburgh was occupied. It was certain that assistance would come from France to the Regent, and for their own safety the Lords of the Congregation were obliged to seek the help of Elizabeth.

They take arms.

It is thus that Scotland becomes of vital importance to English affairs, as affording the ground on which the interests of England and France came into immediate contact. An alliance with the Scotch malcontents was in the last degree necessary to England. Elizabeth had of her own accord severed herself from Spanish support. The treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis had even formed a temporary alliance between France and Spain. It was generally expected that the re-establishment of Catholicism in Scotland would be followed by the invasion of England from that country, and the assertion of the right of Mary backed by the whole power of France. The knowledge of this scheme gave significance to the otherwise trifling point that the arms of England were habitually quartered with those of France in all the heraldic decorations of the French Court. But desirable though the alliance was, there were obstacles in the way. Elizabeth hated Knox for a book he had written against the "Regiment of Women," and moreover felt it so necessary to strengthen her possession of the Crown by every available principle, that she was very unwilling to give public countenance to rebels who were calling the Divine right of kings in question. Her Protestant advisers eagerly pressed her to waive her objections, and suggested as a means of removing her scruples that Arran should lay claim to the Scottish throne. With him no longer a rebel, but a pretender

They ask help from England.

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with some show of right, it might be possible to treat. They even thought it possible that Elizabeth might marry him, and with that object he came to England. She probably saw the folly and insanity of his character, and would hear no more of such a match.

While Elizabeth was hesitating, the Regent was fortifying Leith, which she made so strong, that although the English Queen at last made a treaty, called the Treaty of Berwick, with the discontented nobles, as represented by the Duke of Chatelherault, "the second person in the kingdom," and although in pursuance of this treaty an English army was sent to assist in the siege, the French garrison were enabled to repel all attacks, till a pacification was arranged between Cecil and Royal Commissioners with France, known as the Treaty of Edinburgh. This was concluded early in July. In June the Regent had died. By the Treaty of Edinburgh the French army was to be withdrawn from Scotland, the government during the Queen's absence was to be in the hands of a council of twelve noblemen, the nominees partly of the Queen, partly of the Estates, religious matters were to be settled in Parliament, and it was stipulated that the obnoxious coat of arms should no longer be used. Queen Mary refused to ratify the treaty, in spite of which the Estates assembled at the appointed time and accepted the Confession of Faith, which was the formula of the Genevan Church, repealing all Acts which authorized any other form of worship, and abjuring the authority of the Pope. The celebration of the Mass was rendered a capital offence if repeated three times. Protestantism thus became the national religion.

Treaty of Edinburgh. 1560.

Protestantism established by the Estates. Aug. 25, 1560.

It was pretty certain that such measures would not be sanctioned in France, where the Guises were now paramount. The conspiracy of Amboise, a plan matured by the Protestants for obtaining possession of the person of the King, had been thwarted by their vigilance, and a series of ruthless executions was breaking the spirit of the Huguenot party. These vindictive punishments were carried out in the name of the King; and Church and King, Protestantism and treason, had come to be regarded as synonymous—a view which, however unjust it may have been, was employed with great effect by the Guise party.

Before the end of the year Queen Mary was a widow, and the power of the Guises broken. This change of circumstances had great influence on the state of affairs in Scotland. Ambassadors were sent to the widowed Queen to urge her return home. Smarting under the

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slights which Catherine de Medici, the Queen Mother of France, cast upon her, and feeling acutely her loss of position, she agreed to the request. Patriotism had always been the strongest motive of Scotch policy; jealousy of England had thrown the people into the arms of France—jealousy of France had in its turn produced the English alliance and the Treaty of Berwick. The fear of France was now removed, and there again arose a strong desire among the Scotch to be freed from all foreign influence, and to be left to manage their own affairs themselves. Nor was this all. The national party in Scotland, in conjunction with a very considerable portion of the people of England, were desirous that the claims of Mary, as the successor at all events to the English throne, should be admitted. In England her succession would no doubt act more or less as a check to the growth of Protestantism; to a great many people in England this was no objection. On the other hand, it would secure peacefully the great design so continually before the eyes of English statesmen since the time of Edward I., and unite England and Scotland under one crown. Such were the views of Lord James, afterwards Earl of Murray, Prior of St. Andrews, the illegitimate brother of Mary, who had acted consistently with the Congregation during the late disturbances, and who now put himself at the head of the national party. He stipulated that no foreign force should be introduced by the Queen, and that she should not disturb the existing religion. On these conditions the bulk of the people were ready to welcome her. She set sail for her kingdom, but her passage was not unattended with difficulty; for in spite of her pretended friendship for Elizabeth, she still refused to accept the Treaty of Edinburgh, and the English Queen, with great want of generosity, refused her a safe conduct through her dominions. Ships were waiting to prevent her from reaching Scotland: she eluded them, however, and reached that country in safety (Aug. 19, 1561). The singing of psalms to the sound of three-stringed rebecks, although she graciously expressed her pleasure at the serenade, and a violent effort to break into the Chapel of Holyrood and prevent her from hearing Mass—an uproar checked only by the personal authority of Murray—did not give her a pleasant idea of her new subjects, and promised ill for the success of a moderate Reformation.

Queen Mary comes home, supported by the national party.

Immediately after the Treaty of Edinburgh, and before the negotiations for the return of Mary, Elizabeth had let slip an opportunity which might have changed the whole course of her reign. The Estates of Scotland, taking up the idea which had already been

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suggested, had made a formal request to her to marry the Earl of Arran. This young man, the son of the Duke of Chatelherault, stood nearest to the throne after his father. Could Elizabeth have accepted him, as was the earnest desire of the Protestant statesmen of both parties, it is very probable that the superior claims of the absent Queen, unpopular in the eyes of the Protestants on account of her relationship with the Guises, would have been forgotten, and the peaceful union of the two kingdoms, with a government on a Protestant basis, would have resulted. In himself, however, Arran was a most undesirable husband. The weak, passionate nature of his youth ripened afterwards into madness. It is probable that another reason besides her dislike for the man induced the Queen to reject her counsellors' advice. Lord Robert Dudley, a son of the late Duke of Northumberland, had attracted her attention and won her heart. Both nobles and commons regarded the idea of a marriage of this kind with dislike; but it was unquestionably a much-received opinion that the Queen and Dudley would marry, and Lord Robert prepared the way for his own elevation by intrigues in all directions, in which sometimes the Queen was involved, and by procuring the murder of his wife, the unfortunate Amy Robsart. So eager was he in his ambitious schemes, that he entered into communication with the Spaniards, offering to restore the Catholic religion if they would support him, and asserting that Elizabeth was privy to this scheme. Philip, who all along had expected that sooner or later she would have recourse to his assistance, signified his consent; but the favourite's influence, although it formed a very sufficient bar to the marriage with Arran, was not sufficiently strong to thwart the advice of Cecil. He not only succeeded in avoiding the danger of any approximation to Spain, he even forced England further along the course of reform. He carried out the laws against Roman Catholics more strictly, and persuaded the Queen to refuse admission to a nuncio from the Pope, who was coming to persuade her to send representatives to a General Council, and he induced her to give some assistance to the Protestants in France, who were now in open antagonism to the Government.

Rise of Dudley, Earl of Leicester.

In that country events had occurred which at first promised very well for the Protestant cause. After the failure of the conspiracy of Amboise, the Guises had been absolutely masters of the Government, and had succeeded in arresting Anthony of Bourbon, King of

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Navarre,[1] and the Prince of Condé; Coligny had chivalrously refused to hold aloof from his leaders in danger. They had designed the death of the King of Navarre, as though in a quarrel with the young King. They had arranged everything for the trial and execution of Condé, and the Bourbons and Chatillons (that is, Coligny and his brothers) had seemed hopelessly lost, when the sudden illness of Francis II., speedily followed by his death, had destroyed all their plans. Catherine de Medici, who hated both parties, and wished to see them destroy each other, had obtained the regency from her young son Charles IX. She took for her minister the Chancellor de l'Hôpital, and tried to establish the crown in an independent position by playing one party against the other. The liberation of the Princes of the blood and their union with Catherine, and the tolerant policy of de l'Hôpital, gave for the time an air of success to the Protestants. Cecil entered into negotiations with them; there was even some hope of a restitution of Calais. But the calm was of short duration. Parties were too much in earnest and too exasperated to be managed or caressed into quiet, and the massacre of Vassy (1562), where the people of the Duke of Guise fell upon and killed a party of Protestants at their worship, and the repetition of the massacre elsewhere, roused the Reformers to arms, and began the long war of religion in France. The approach of that war must have been long obvious, and the Guises had obtained support and active assistance from the Spaniards.

Beginning of religious wars in France.

Should the Guises be successful, a general alliance of the Catholic powers would result. But the separation of those powers was the vital point in Cecil's policy, and the sole hope for the security of England. Should Condé be overthrown, he writes, "Philip and the Guises would become the dictators of Europe, Spain would have Ireland, Mary Queen of Scots would marry Don Carlos, the Council of Trent would pass a general sentence against all Protestants, and the English Catholics, directed and supported from abroad, would rise in universal rebellion." The apparent approach of that danger in-

[1]

Charles, Duke of Vendôme.
Descended by seven degrees from Louis IX. (1225-1270).
Died 1537.

Charles, Cardinal of Bourbon. Crowned 1589 as Charles X. Died 1590.	Louis, Duke of Condé. Died 1569.	Anthony de Bourbon = Jeanne d'Albret. King of Navarre. Died 1562.
		Henry IV., 1589-1610.

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duced Cecil and the Queen to listen to the application of Condé, who offered to place Havre and Dieppe in her hands as securities. She accordingly despatched an army to occupy Havre. Although her generals exceeded her orders, which were merely to act on the defensive, and acted energetically for the defence of Rouen, that city fell after a siege, in which the King of Navarre, who had lately joined his old enemies, lost his life. Condé—now become the first Prince of the blood—advanced towards Paris, where Catherine, in the hands of the Guises, but still anxious for the success of an intermediate policy, made another effort at peace. The obstacle was the refusal of Condé to throw over Elizabeth. The negotiations were broken off, and Condé, while hastening back to join the English army, was compelled to fight the battle of Dreux (Dec. 1562), in which, though the cavalry of the Protestants were victorious, the whole fate of the day was in favour of the Catholics. The triumph of their party was brought to an abrupt conclusion when, in March of the following year, the Duke of Guise, while besieging Orleans, was killed by the assassin Poltrot. His death changed the appearance of affairs in France. The family of the Guises disappeared with strange rapidity. The Duke d'Aumale was severely wounded, and the Grand Prior died of an illness caught at the battle of Dreux. The Cardinal of Lorraine was away at the General Council; the Marquis d'Elbœuf was closely besieged by Coligny. Other chiefs, who would naturally have taken the lead, were also out of the political field; Navarre was dead, Condé was a prisoner, the Constable Montmorency, who had been fighting for the Guises, was a prisoner also. For the time Catherine found herself mistress of the position. She was enabled to carry out her policy of toleration; and Condé, aware of Elizabeth's selfish motive for the detention of Havre, agreed to the dismissal of the foreign allies on both sides, and signed the Peace of Amboise in March 1563. The English in Havre were thus left unsupported. Elizabeth would not accept Condé's offers, but persisted in holding the town, and Condé was obliged to turn against her the army she had originally assisted in raising. The plague broke out in the city, but the defenders still held out bravely. Large reinforcements were sent over only to die, and at last, Warwick, the commander, with his garrison worn out with disease, had to surrender. The returning troops spread the plague throughout England, and the mortality rose in London to 2000 a week. This disaster excited a constant mistrust of the Huguenots in Elizabeth's mind.

Elizabeth helps the Huguenots, but with selfish objects.

Events of the war enable Catherine to bring about the Peace of Amboise.

Disasters of the English at Havre.

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While Elizabeth was thus actively, though uselessly, interfering in the politics of France, Mary, under the guidance of Lord James Murray, was apparently intent upon keeping up her good relations with England. She even appeared to favour the national religion, and was induced to accompany Murray in an expedition against Huntly and the Northern Catholics, who were defeated on the Hill of Corrichie, not far from Aberdeen. She sought the advice of Elizabeth with regard to her marriage, implying that she was her natural heiress, and that her matrimonial arrangements were therefore of interest to the English Queen. None the less, she had agents in constant intercourse with the Spanish and with the Guises, and was even thinking of marrying Don Carlos, the son of Philip. Her application to Elizabeth was met by advice it was impossible to follow. To Elizabeth and her counsellors it seemed highly important that Mary should, if possible, be married to an Englishman and a Protestant. To the astonishment of the world, the nobleman recommended to Mary's acceptance was Robert Dudley, with whom the English Queen was believed to be herself deeply in love. To obviate difficulties with regard to rank, she raised him to the Earldom of Leicester. But Mary was not likely to make anything but a royal marriage if she married for political reasons; and as the conference in which her claims had been discussed had just broken up without result, dissimulation was no longer necessary, and determining to make good, not her reversionary, but her present claims, she soon displayed herself in her true colours. If she could not be accepted as successor by fair means, she would so connect herself with the Catholic party in England as to threaten Elizabeth's own throne. The acknowledged representative of this party was the first Prince of the blood in England, Lord Henry Darnley, son of the Earl of Lennox. Margaret Tudor, the elder of Henry VIII.'s sisters, after the death of her first husband, the King of Scotland, had married the Earl of Angus; her daughter by this marriage was the Countess of Lennox, of whom Darnley was the son. Lennox was induced to go to Scotland, and Elizabeth was persuaded to allow him to do so for the purpose of regaining the Lennox property and the reversal of the attainder which rested on him. His son was naturally anxious to join him—the whole being, no doubt, a prearranged scheme, though whether Mary was herself cognizant of it is uncertain. It was plain to all, however, that the young man had caught her fancy; their first meeting in fact settled the question of the Queen's marriage. Darnley rapidly received the

Mary's government under Murray's influence.

She demands to be acknowledged successor, and is refused.

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titles of Lord of Ardmanach, Earl of Ross, and Duke of Albany, and the marriage was completed on the 29th of July. Shortly before this, the reception of Randolph, the English ambassador, was such as to show that the connection between the two courts was broken. In fact, Queen Mary had settled upon her line of action. She had determined to connect herself with the European Catholic league.

Marries Darnley.

In the spring of 1565, Catherine de Medici, and the Duke of Alva on the part of the King of Spain, had met at Bayonne; and although it is not probable that, as was supposed, the massacre of St. Bartholomew was there arranged, or that any distinct written league was made, it is certain that Alva explained the vigorous and bloody policy which he intended to pursue, and that the meeting marks the period when efforts to temporize with Protestantism ceased. Mary was believed to be a party to the league; and whether there were such a league or not, she determined to throw in her lot with the Catholics. She naturally first turned towards France, but the temporizing policy of Catherine de Medici did not allow her to listen to the application. The close connection between Mary and France was thus broken, and she was henceforward inclined to rely chiefly on Spain. In fact, the danger which threatened England from France had subsided. The vehemence of religious dissensions, and the necessity felt by the Government of keeping either party from gaining the pre-eminence, paralyzed its power of vigorous action. It is with Spain, hitherto her lukewarm supporter, that Elizabeth had now to cope.

Joins the Catholic League.

But Mary, although without the foreign assistance on which she relied, felt that she was leaning upon all the Catholic powers in Europe. She could therefore afford to act with vigour. The discontented Lords were driven into England, and the progress of the Reformation in Scotland seemed for the present to be suppressed.

Mary's reliance upon the difficulties of Elizabeth's position was well grounded. It seemed as if Cecil's policy had only been attended with success hitherto to meet at length with the more complete downfall. Spain had been braved, and no ill results had followed; a war with France had been entered upon, yet France seemed paralyzed; Protestantism had been re-established, and England had begun to regain her position in Europe. All this success had been due to the jealousy of the Catholic powers; but there was now every reason to believe that their quarrels had been compromised, and that they were ready to act in harmony for the re-establishment of their religion. The danger was aggravated by the

Elizabeth's difficult position.

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existence of a large and powerful body of Catholics, especially in the North, who were all suspected of being in Mary's interest. As long as the Treaty of Edinburgh was unratified (as it still was), Mary was in fact making a claim on the English throne. Under such circumstances, Elizabeth could not wholly break with the Catholic powers by giving assistance to the fugitive Lords. Though it was plain, therefore, on which side her wishes were, yet, in order to contradict the suggestions which the ambassadors of France and Spain were making, that she was assisting the rebels, she granted Murray a public interview, only to rate him soundly for venturing to ask her for assistance in such a cause, and to insist upon an open denial of any encouragement received at her hands. Murray saw the position of affairs, and prudently corroborated Elizabeth's falsehood.

She repudiates Murray.

The marriage of Mary with Darnley, though for the time it produced the effects intended, and enabled the Queen to carry out with success the first measures of a Catholic reaction, had in it the seeds of failure. Darnley was childish and petulant, a notoriously loose liver, and at the same time jealous of his wife. His loose tongue could not keep these private squabbles sacred. There was known to be a breach between the King and Queen, and partisans began to gather to one side or the other—"King," Darnley was called by courtesy only, for the way in which Mary was showing her growing dislike for him was by refusing to grant him the crown matrimonial. It was believed that it was the influence of Rizzio which was chiefly instrumental in preventing Darnley from obtaining this object of his wishes. David Rizzio was an Italian adventurer, who had become private secretary to the Queen, and had rendered himself necessary to her by holding as he did all the threads of her correspondence with the Catholic powers abroad. Being engaged too in secret correspondences, he was often in close and intimate private conversation with her. Darnley's jealousy was excited against him; while the hatred of the Protestant party, who regarded him as the chief instrument of the Papal power in Scotland, and detested him for the upstart airs which he seems to have assumed, forgot for a moment their enmity with Darnley, and united in a plot in which Rizzio was to be the victim. Documents of association were drawn up between themselves and Darnley in March 1566, by which they pledged themselves to procure for him the crown matrimonial, and to secure the death of Rizzio; while he was to guarantee the recall of Murray, the restoration of the banished Lords, and the maintenance of

Quarrels between Mary and Darnley.

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the Protestant religion. Meanwhile Mary, unwitting of the danger which threatened her, was preparing a fresh assault upon Murray. The Parliament was summoned chiefly for the purpose of passing a Bill of Attainder against him, and she had by her own personal influence succeeded in procuring the nomination as *Lords of the Articles*—as the Committee was called which prepared measures for Parliament—of men who would make no scruple in bringing in such a Bill of Attainder. It was necessary that such a step should be forestalled. The Lords of the Articles were nominated on the 7th, and in the evening of the 9th, the Earl of Morton, with a party of Douglases, quietly surrounded the Palace of Holyrood, while Ruthven, with George Douglas, Ker of Faldonside, and Darnley, went up to the Queen's apartments. She was sitting at supper with Rizzio and the Countess of Argyle, a French physician and other attendants were present. Darnley's duty was to hold the Queen. He drew near her, pretending to caress her—she drew back from his embrace; the stern form of Ruthven, deadly pale from a recent illness, met her eye standing in the doorway, the tapestry of which he had raised. She sprang up, exclaiming "Judas!" and demanded of Ruthven what he wanted. With bitter words he told her he had come for Rizzio, who had been with her too long already. He pushed the Queen into Darnley's arms, bade the attendants meddle with him at their peril, and calling his comrades to his assistance, dragged Rizzio out of the room and despatched him in the corridor. George Douglas struck the first blow with a dagger he had snatched from Darnley, crying, "This from the King." Bothwell and Huntly, and other friends of the Queen, who were in the palace, came down, astonished at the uproar, and at first seemed inclined to fight; but Ruthven disclosed the second act of the plot, telling them that the banished Earls would be there before morning: and finding themselves outnumbered, they thought it wiser to fly. Mary had been left quite alone in her rooms; none of her ladies were allowed to visit her. In that terrible loneliness she formed her plan of vengeance, and at once proceeded to act upon it. Darnley, weak and lustful, was the merest child in her hands. Before the day was over, she had half won him back by her caresses, had got her ladies restored to her, and sent messages to Bothwell and Huntly. In another day she had got from Darnley all the secrets of the conspiracy, and had persuaded him to fly with her from Holyrood, and take refuge in the castle of Dunbar.

Murder of Rizzio.

Bothwell and her friends gathered round her, and in a few days

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she was able to return to Edinburgh at the head of a considerable army. She was thus strong enough to summon Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, and others to answer for the murder, but they had already fled to England, and were outlawed. Mary's reconciliation with Darnley was the merest pretence; she loathed him with a great hatred, and they soon came again to quarrelling. Murray, Argyle, and Maitland, not having been present at the murder, were received into favour, and worked for a time with Bothwell and Huntly. This appearance was also fallacious. The Queen had determined upon the destruction of Darnley, and upon the ruin of Murray and his friends, but it was necessary for the time to keep up appearances. The man on whom she really leant was Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, a coarse and brutal Border noble, with an outward polish of manners learnt in France. With this man it was plain that she was falling violently in love. To this passion she had never yet fallen a prey. There was so much of nobleness in her character, that when once seized by it she was capable of any acts of self-denial and devotion. Such passionate love is a bad guide for a queen in such difficult circumstances as hers, and it was upon it that she made shipwreck of her life. There were two obstacles in the way of Bothwell's success in securing Mary for his wife—they were both of them married.

Bothwell.

Meanwhile, Mary had a son (June 19, 1566), whose advent had been hailed as a possible means of healing the difficulties of the country. Elizabeth showed her good-will towards him by consenting to act as his godmother, and it was likely that his undisputed succession to the English throne might set that difficult question at rest. The events of his christening were however ominous; Darnley, although in the house, refused to be present, and Bothwell did all the necessary duties. Already such of the nobles engaged in the conspiracy for the death of Rizzio as had been pardoned began to press for the recall of their banished comrades. Their hatred for Darnley, who had betrayed them, and was still instrumental in keeping their friends in banishment, was only equalled by that of the Queen and Bothwell, in whose way he stood. Community of interests drew these strange parties together, and Bothwell at a meeting held at Craigmillar, contrived to get the signatures of Argyle, Huntly, Maitland, and Sir James Balfour to a bond for securing the death of Darnley—"That for sae mickle as it was thought expedient and

The Bond of Craigmillar.

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profitable for the commonweal, by the nobility and lords underwritten, that sic an young fool and proud tyran (as the King) should not bear rule of them—for divers causes, therefore, they had all concluded that he should be put forth by one way or other."

Such a bond shows how deeply determined the nobles of all parties were to get rid of this treacherous and overweening young man. The rumour of some such plan reached England, and probably reached Darnley himself. It was almost certain that he had some inkling of what was about to happen. The event was not long deferred. About ten months after the death of Rizzio, the King fell ill (January 1567); his disease is said to have been small-pox. As he was recovering Mary affected solicitude for his comfort, and visited him. It was agreed that he should be removed from Glasgow, where he was ill, to Craigmillar. This plan was afterwards changed, and Edinburgh was decided upon. Darnley felt a foreboding of his fate. He told Crawford, a follower of his father's, who was visiting him, "Though he liked it not, he would trust himself in her hands though she should cut his throat." Mary wrote that night to Bothwell, describing the scene. When it was arranged that Darnley should be taken to Edinburgh, it was alleged that Holyrood was not healthy for him, and he was to be taken to Kirk-o'-field, as he understood to the palace of the Hamiltons there. But Bothwell had arranged matters better than that. A lone, half-ruinous portion of a destroyed priory had been got ready for him, a room above for himself, and a room downstairs for the Queen. There she visited him, and there as usual she subdued him and made him again in love with her. But one day she suddenly remembered that her servant Bastia (or Sebastian) was going to be married, and that she must grace the festivities with her presence. Singularly, during the visit she had just paid her husband, she twice passed the door of her own room without entering it; had she done so she would have found the bed removed and the room filled with bags of gunpowder: all the previous night Bothwell and his friends had been storing it there. After she had gone, the arrangements were completed, and two of Bothwell's men were left in the house. Perhaps Darnley discovered them and tried to fly with his page, for their bodies were found strangled in a neighbouring orchard, and not among the ruins of the house. Bothwell came down to complete the explosion, but in his hurry seems to have forgotten to replace the bodies. When the train was lighted, he rushed home to bed, and received the

Murder of Darnley. Feb. 10.

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news of the disaster with well-feigned astonishment and cries of treason.

Such acting, however, though helped by all the influence of the Queen, did not deceive the nation. Tickets and placards were soon affixed in the night to the walls charging Bothwell and others with the murder. Lennox, the murdered man's father, demanded a speedy inquiry. Such an inquiry, in some form or other, could not be refused, but care might be taken to render it quite nugatory. Bothwell was allowed to remain at large and to enjoy the full favour of the Queen. Edinburgh Castle, commanding the place of trial, was put into his hands, and the town was filled with his followers. The day for the trial was fixed, and that at so short a distance of time that Lennox could have no opportunity of collecting evidence. Such short time as there was he employed in calling together armed followers, for it was evident that no justice could be obtained unless backed by force. A proclamation was then issued forbidding him to appear with more than six followers. Of course he could not thus risk his life among Bothwell's rough Border riders. All efforts had been in vain to procure any postponement of the trial. A messenger from Elizabeth, who brought a letter urging such a course, was kept outside Holyrood Palace, and saw Bothwell ride out in triumph to be tried, kissing his hand to the Queen, whose deep sleep had just before been urged as a reason for her not receiving Elizabeth's letter. The trial was conducted according to regular form. Although Lennox himself was not there, a gentleman of his party represented him, and demanded postponement of the trial for the usual legal period. He was scoffingly told that Lennox had urged a speedy trial, and in the absence of the accuser Bothwell was acquitted.

Very shortly after (April 1567), a Parliament, or something which represented it, was summoned, and the acquittal was ratified. After the close of the Parliament, Bothwell assembled the nobility at a place called Ainslie's Tavern, and there, after a boisterous evening, some eighteen or twenty noblemen were induced to sign a bond recommending the Queen to accept Bothwell for her husband. Though they signed the bond under the pressure of the despotism which Bothwell had in fact established, the idea of the marriage was none the less hateful to them. Probably they all intended to break the bond. It was to avoid such affairs as this, and such doubtful intrigues, which were inevitable in the midst of the suppressed indignation of all classes of the people at the idea of the Bothwell marriage, that Murray had withdrawn to France. It would not do for him to sully his name

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in the rough and underhand transactions which he saw were imminent, as it was his business to reserve himself till he could appear on the scene as the single, irreproachable representative of a reformed Government.

The hatred with which the match was regarded was known to Bothwell, and in spite of his apparent prosperity, it seemed necessary both to him and Mary to take some instant measure to secure it; besides which, there was some little difficulty in procuring the divorce from his wife, who was a sister of Huntly's. To sweeten what would otherwise have been an intolerable insult to the powerful family of the Gordons, much of the property which had been confiscated after the skirmish of Corrichie was to be restored. Bothwell therefore made a plan, of which Mary was probably cognizant, for carrying off the Queen. She went to see her child, who was in the keeping of the Earl of Mar at Stirling. She probably intended to have got possession of the child, but Mar was conscious that such a step would be most injurious to the cause of the opposition nobles. The Queen was therefore admitted, with only a few attendants. The interview was, according to some stories, an affecting one; according to others, the Queen tried to poison the child with an apple and a sugar-plum, "judged to be very evil compounded." As she returned from Stirling, in company with Huntly, Maitland, and Melville, and a considerable guard, Bothwell, with a force he had collected professedly to ride to the Border, blocked her path close to Edinburgh, at a place now called Fountainbridge, surrounded her escort, and, with every sign of connivance on her part, carried her off to his castle of Dunbar.[1] The great Lords of Scotland—Mar, Morton, Athole, and Argyle—at once determined that, come what would, so scandalous a connection must be put an end to. Either France or England might be expected to assist them, and they determined on immediate action. Meanwhile, the Queen and Bothwell returned to Edinburgh, and flaunted their loves in the eyes of the populace. Whether the Queen yielded to violence at first, as she represented, or not, it was plain that now, at all events, she was well pleased with her lover. She created him Duke of Orkney, and on the 15th of May married him in the Protestant form, and was so changed by her love, that she suffered all licenses to use the Catholic worship to be recalled, and declared her intention of adhering strictly to the Confession of 1560.

Bothwell carries off the Queen.

The Lords determined to attack Bothwell, who, to be beforehand with them, ordered his followers to collect upon the Borders. He went down to join them, leaving the Queen at

Anger of the nobles.

[1] This fortress had been conferred on Bothwell in 1566.

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Borthwick Castle, whither he returned upon finding that his plan had failed. Some of the Lords, hearing where he was, rode down and nearly captured him there. With difficulty he escaped to Dunbar, whither on the following day Mary fled to him in the disguise of a page. All her own wardrobe was wanting, and she borrowed from some attendant a bodice and a little red petticoat reaching only half way down her leg. In this strange dress she issued forth with her husband, who had collected some troops at Dunbar, to meet the rebel Lords. She met them at Carberry Hill, not far from the site of the battle of Pinkie. Some attempts at mediation were made by the French ambassador, but in vain. A single combat between Bothwell and some champion on the other side was imminent, but prevented evidently by the Queen's anxiety. The Lords' ultimatum was the dismissal of Bothwell, and as, after a hot day, his undisciplined army was melting away in search of refreshments or in desertion, and the Lords were seen advancing to execute their threats, Mary yielded at last to necessity, suffered Bothwell to tear himself from her, and gave herself up as prisoner to the Lords. Bothwell fled to Dunbar, and afterwards turned rover in the Northern seas. The poor Queen, in her quaint dress and almost beside herself with anger, was taken into Edinburgh amid the coarse jests of the populace. All night long she was unable to calm herself, and appeared again and again at the window, with torn hair and dishevelled dress, only to encounter the sight of the terrible banner portraying her husband's death, which was erected opposite her window. There was much danger that she would be put to death; but somewhat gentler counsels prevailed, and she was sent a prisoner to Lochleven Castle. While there she was persuaded to abdicate in favour of her young son. Murray, who was summoned home from France, was named Regent, and till his arrival the Government was carried on by a Committee of Regency. The Lords, under his able guidance, proceeded quietly in their course, determined, if possible, that neither French nor English should mingle in the present quarrel. Eleven months elapsed, during which Mary's friends somewhat recovered from the blow they had received, and organized plans for her escape. At last, after more than one futile effort, she succeeded in leaving Lochleven Castle by the aid of a page known as the Little Douglas. Lord Seton met her on the shore, and a rapid ride, such as only a woman of her strength could have borne, brought her to Hamilton, where her friends were collected. Murray was at Glasgow, a few

Battle of Carberry Hill. June 15.

Mary is imprisoned in Lochleven, and abdicates.

Mary escapes.

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miles off, unprepared for an assault. But he succeeded in collecting troops before a blow was struck against him, and as the Queen was advancing to secure Dumbarton Castle, the stronghold on the mouth of the Clyde, he encountered and routed her forces at Langside. She fled to the South of Scotland, and, crossing the Solway, threw herself on the hospitality of England, where she was honourably received by the gentry of the neighbourhood.

Battle of Langside. Mary seeks refuge in England. May 13, 1568.

The arrival of Mary still further increased the difficulties of Elizabeth. The determination to suppress heresy, arrived at in the year 1565, had shown itself chiefly in the conduct of Spain towards the Netherlands. About the same time as the abdication of Mary, the Duke of Alva had succeeded the Regent, Margaret of Parma, in the government of the Netherlands. He had brought with him a powerful army, which was to reduce that refractory country and root out heresy. Shortly after the death of Charles V., edicts had been issued against the Protestants, authorizing their suppression by illegal military courts. Against these unconstitutional measures the nobles had successfully protested. Philip had withdrawn to Spain, and had left his sister to carry on the government. As far as it was possible, she had carried out the edicts, and crowds of artisans had left the country to settle in England or to join their brethren in France. The stadtholders of the provinces, headed by William of Orange and Counts Egmont and Horn, unable to check the severity of the bishops, but unwilling to rebel, had petitioned Philip to postpone the carrying out of the edicts. The common people could not wholly imitate their moderation; rebellions broke out, which were speedily checked by the stadtholders; but Philip had found the excuse he wanted, and Alva, with an army, was sent to suppress all further signs of discontent with a high hand. Counts Egmont and Horn, though they received him loyally, were imprisoned for having petitioned against the edicts, and shortly afterwards beheaded. William of Orange had taken flight in time, and with some assistance from the Germans, and from his own province of Nassau, began an open war. The opening was disastrous to William; his brother Count Louis was defeated, and his army absolutely destroyed, at the battle of Jemmingen, on July 21, and the rest of the campaign was equally unsuccessful.

Consequent increase of Elizabeth's difficulties, already enhanced by the affairs of the Netherlands,

The Queen's difficulties were no longer confined to the attacks of the Roman Catholics. The Puritans had sprung into existence as a separate body. When first the Act of

and by the rise of the Puritans.

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Uniformity had been carried out, many of the Roman Catholic priests had accepted it without meaning in any way to be bound by it. A certain number had refused it, and their places had been filled for the most part by clergy who had been in exile during the previous reign, and had learnt abroad the religious views of Calvin. Thus for some years, in two neighbouring parishes, the form of worship might have been very different—the one exhibiting a ritual beyond that which the Church of England allowed, the other using the plain Genevan form of worship. As the Queen felt more firmly fixed upon her throne, she determined to put an end to this variety. Her own view in such matters was very clear. The law of the land prescribed a certain form of worship—to that every good subject must adhere. Her own predilections and those of her Archbishop—Parker—were strongly in favour of the more ritualistic form, and, in 1565, it was determined to insist on the wearing of the surplice and other such matters. Parker and, much against his will, Grindal (Bishop of London) summoned the London clergy, and ordered them to keep the Act of Uniformity strictly. Between thirty and forty,—more than a third of their number, and those the ablest and most active among them—refused to use the surplice, and resigned their cures. Their congregations naturally sided with them, and thus a large body of good Protestants were exasperated and driven into enmity to the Church.

Elizabeth thus found herself with a nobility eager before all things for a successor to the throne, and desirous of an alliance with Spain, with one section of her people estranged by her severe Church discipline, another eager for the restoration of the old worship, and with a victorious army, bent on the extirpation of heresy, in her immediate neighbourhood. One course was suggested, which might have freed her from her difficulties. She was urged to marry the Archduke of Austria. This would have saved her from Spanish enmity; would have encouraged the Catholics in England to wait quietly for a legitimate successor, confident that persecution would be meanwhile impossible; would have gratified the Anglican nobility by carrying out the policy they had always recommended, and would probably have removed that fear of a disputed succession, which was constantly present in men's minds. But she could not bring herself to consent to the match. Her determination not to marry at all, her preference for Leicester, and her dread lest she should be compelled to acknowledge the Papal supremacy, to which, for political reasons, she was obstin-

Marriage with the Archduke of Austria seems her best way of escape.

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ately opposed, combined to cause this decision. With it disappeared all immediate hopes of a direct successor. And just at this moment the legitimate heiress appeared in England, ready to become the centre of all intrigues, whether religious or dynastic.

It became imperatively necessary for Elizabeth to make up her mind how she would act to her unwelcome guest. As usual, she preferred an indirect course. If she regarded herself as the champion of Protestantism, the opportunity lay open to her of supporting the rebel Lords, and sending assistance to those Protestant subjects, both of Spain and France, who were struggling against the growing Catholic reaction. But, as the champion of the prerogative of sovereigns, she particularly disliked the idea of supporting subjects against their king; while she by no means wished to enter into a war, which might easily prove disastrous, which could not fail to prove expensive, both against Spain and France. Proud of her own intellect, she thought she could steer among the difficulties which beset her by diplomacy and finesse. She determined, if possible, by destroying Mary's character, to prevent her from receiving either the support of foreign powers or of England; while at the same time she hoped that, if she did not allow Mary's enemies to bring their charges fully home, it would be possible to make some arrangement which should replace her on her throne, an arrangement which would enable her to avoid the distinct nomination of a successor, while it might satisfy the Protestant Lords by establishing some modified form of the Reformation, such as the English Church. It was therefore determined that a conference should be held to inquire into the charges brought against Queen Mary. But as there was a difficulty in establishing any jurisdiction over a Scotch Queen, it was ingeniously determined that the inquiry should be nominally directed to the conduct of the rebel Lords, which would naturally bring out their charges against the Queen.

She determines on a double policy, destroying Mary's influence, but restoring her to the throne.

The Conference was held at York, and there the Regent Murray produced a general reply to the charges against him. Former experience had taught him the danger of relying upon Elizabeth. He thought it probable that Mary would be restored, that if he produced his real charges he would make her his implacable enemy, and that her restoration would prove his ruin. Elizabeth had, in fact, promised to Mary that she would restore her in any case; to Murray, that if the worst charges were proved, she would not restore her. Murray's general answer

Conference of York. Oct. 4, 1568.

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was wholly insufficient. It became necessary for him either to produce proofs of Mary's complicity in the murder of her husband, or to confess the weakness of his position. Those proofs he held in his hand, consisting of letters and sonnets written to Bothwell, and discovered in the Queen's casket. He showed the letters to the Commissioners, demanding a distinct promise, before publicly producing them, that, if their authenticity was accepted, judgment should be given against Queen Mary. Before this promise was given, it reached the ears of Elizabeth that a plan was on foot to marry Queen Mary to the Duke of Norfolk, as the easiest way out of all difficulties. That so important a step should have been thought of without her cognizance excited her anger, and made her determine that the Conference should be held more within the immediate limits of her influence. The inquiry was therefore moved to London. If Mary's influence in England was to be destroyed, it was now necessary to produce publicly the proofs of her guilt. A number of Peers were summoned, and when the Commission reopened, Murray produced the full charges. To the Commission already formed, a number of noblemen, Mary's own especial friends, were added, and to them the letters were exhibited, nor could they refuse to acknowledge them. Queen Mary had meanwhile been clamouring to be heard in person before Elizabeth. But the Lords seemed to have agreed that until the worst of the charges at least were answered, the Queen was not called upon to admit her to her presence. Several forms of trial were offered her. But Elizabeth wrote to her, urging her to make some sort of compromise, to confirm the abdication she had made at Lochleven, and to remain in England as long as she pleased; Murray might continue Regent, and the Prince be brought to England, and educated as the Queen's successor. It seemed as if Mary was driven to extremities. Only by some compromise of this sort could she hope to escape public disgrace. Within a few weeks Elizabeth changed her mind. Events had occurred which had alarmed her. She hushed up the whole charge against Mary, sent Murray back to Scotland, and left the matter wholly unsettled.

The Casket letters suppressed. Mary's cause left undetermined. Jan. 1569.

It was the danger of a war with Spain which in all probability had changed Elizabeth's views; for while handling one of her difficulties, another had risen to importance. It was Cecil's own action which had hurried on the approach of the danger. While many of the nobility disliked her policy, and believed

State of parties in England.

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that an alliance with Spain could alone save England, Cecil and his friends, with truer insight, saw that the religious quarrel which lay at the bottom of all present difficulties must sooner or later be fought out, and that it was with Spain that the real struggle would come. He believed England already strong enough openly to defy that country, and wished to put an end to all temporizing, and bring the matter at once to the settlement of war. Causes of quarrel with foreign powers were easy enough to find. The western coasts of England swarmed with privateers. Though the Queen carefully abstained from overt acts of hostility, she yet allowed, and it would appear wished, her enterprising subjects to join indirectly in the efforts of the Protestants. Under the flag of the Prince of Condé, at that time head of the Huguenots of France, and possessed of the Port of La Rochelle, these bold sailors, who were in fact little better than pirates, held themselves at liberty to stop any Catholic ships on the seas, and the sale of their prizes was openly carried on at Plymouth and the western harbours. Chief among these adventurers was Sir John Hawkins. Already he had made successful expeditions, not only in the narrow seas, but in the Spanish West Indies, and had there sold cargoes of slaves, and made large profits, of which the Queen had had her share. He now fitted out a fresh fleet, with the connivance of Elizabeth, who again had her share in the venture, and who lent him one at least of the royal ships. With this he pursued his old course, at first with complete success, but subsequently he was fallen on by a Spanish fleet, and with difficulty brought two of his ships in bad plight to England. The Queen was indignant at her money losses. A considerable sum of money, borrowed in Genoa for the Spanish troops in the Netherlands, had been brought for safety out of the reach of the privateers to England. This was now seized, and as a natural consequence the Spanish authorities laid an embargo on the English ships abroad. It is pretty certain that the Queen meant to take the money, and was wholly in the wrong; but having discovered that it was still the property of the Genoese merchants until delivered, she declared she had only borrowed it, assumed airs of injured innocence, and proceeded to reprisals, seizing all the Spanish ships and merchandise in England.

Cecil tries to draw the Queen into war with Spain.

Although Philip's unwillingness to plunge into war, and his constant dread of France, prevented any immediate hostilities, Cecil's conduct naturally raised the hopes of the Catholics in England. They could not believe that the Spanish King would quietly submit

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to such insults. They now believed that they might certainly rely upon assistance from Spain, and Philip seems in fact to have now first thought seriously of appearing as the champion of the Scottish Queen. The plan of the extreme Catholics was to marry Mary to Don John of Austria, and re-establish the old religion by Spanish arms.

Philip begins to adopt Mary's cause.

The more moderate Catholics also, with the connivance and assistance of the Spanish, wished to change completely the character and conduct of the administration, to restore the predominance of the old nobility, to overthrow Cecil, and to establish the succession in the person of Mary, securing her attachment to English interests by a marriage with Norfolk, the head of the English aristocracy. To a considerable number of Protestants also the establishment of the succession was a great object. They saw no alternative but to accept the Queen of Scots as heir to the throne, and believed that her power to do harm would be best destroyed by her marriage with a great English nobleman such as Norfolk. To all these schemes Norfolk seems more or less to have given in his adhesion. To the Catholics, who upheld him, he represented himself as at heart a Catholic; to the Protestants he remained a Protestant. At first, in conjunction with his father-in-law, Lord Arundel, and the Spanish ambassador, he laboured hard at the overthrow of Cecil, intending to apprehend him at the Council Board; but he had not sufficient courage for this bold step. He then treacherously pointed out to the Spanish the means of injuring English trade, hoping to excite discontent among the mercantile classes. But finding that the Spaniards were losing their confidence in so weak a conspirator, and yielding to the arguments of Cecil, he for a time threw himself with apparent heartiness into the Protestant scheme, in which he had the support of most of the Council, and which was carried so far that terms and conditions were discussed with Mary herself on behalf of the Council. But when the plan came at length to Elizabeth's ears, it proved in the last degree distasteful to her, and she let it be understood that her consent to it was not to be hoped for. Thwarted in his scheme for the restoration of the old nobility, and in his project for marrying Queen Mary in the Protestant interest, the Duke fell back upon the more zealous Catholics of the North. The influence of Don Guerau, the Spanish ambassador, had induced this party, who were ready for active insurrection, to wait until the issue of Norfolk's plans for marrying with the Queen's consent should be

General feeling in her favour.

Various schemes centring round her marriage with Norfolk.

Norfolk's vacillating conduct.

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known. He believed, as was probably the fact, that Norfolk fully intended, when the opportunity arrived, to throw over his Protestant supporters, and re-establish the Catholic religion. It was therefore agreed that the rising should not take place unless the Queen's consent was refused. That refusal had now been given, and the Northern Lords waited anxiously for orders from Norfolk. Conscious that his designs were suspected, Norfolk withdrew from the Court, and fled to his own province in the East of England (Sept. 15). He was thence summoned to London. For a time he made some show of resistance, and refused to obey; but losing heart, he sent word to his Northern allies not to move, was apprehended, and sent to the Tower.

He is arrested. Oct. 9.

Thus left to themselves, the Northern gentlemen were at first uncertain how to act, but ultimately took arms without Norfolk's assistance, and marched to Tutbury, intending to release Mary, who had been brought thither for greater security from Bolton. Sussex, who was in command at York, could do nothing to check them, but fortunately before they got possession of the Scotch Queen, she was removed out of their reach to Coventry (Nov. 23). Their first blow had thus failed. Troops from the South began to march northward. The insurrection proved a failure, and its chiefs, Lords Northumberland and Westmoreland, the heads of the Percies and Nevilles, were driven to take refuge in Scotland. Upon the lower classes cruel vengeance was taken, 600 or 700 were summarily put to death. Vengeance then passed to the gentry; some four or five were executed; others, especially those who had no land, from whose death therefore nothing could be gained, were spared.

Northern insurrection.

The flight of the two Earls into Scotland was the cause of fresh difficulties in that country. The old connection between the rebel Lords had been broken up. Maitland of Lethington, the ablest man among them, was absolutely careless upon religious matters, and desirous only for the political greatness of his country. This he sought to gain by securing the succession to the English crown for a Scotch Prince. Circumstances had now led him to believe that Mary would ultimately make good her claims to the throne of England; he therefore attached himself vigorously to her party, bringing with him many important nobles. Murray, on the other hand, anxious before all things for the establishment of the Reformation, upheld the young King, in whose name he was acting as Regent, and trusted, in spite of the disappointments

Consequent complications with Scotland. 1570.

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he had suffered, in the friendship of Elizabeth. It was already with difficulty that he held his position. To surrender the nobles who had taken refuge in Scotland was to destroy his little remaining popularity. Yet such was the task imposed upon him by Elizabeth. Nor did she send him any assistance for the purpose. Regarding the friendship of England as indispensable, he consented, in spite of the risk it implied, to arrest the Earl of Northumberland and imprison him in Lochleven Castle. But before he could either restore Northumberland or capture Westmoreland, his arch enemies the Hamiltons seized the opportunity of his unpopularity, and assassinated him as he rode through Linlithgow.

Unaided by Elizabeth, Murray is assassinated. Jan. 23, 1570.

To follow the intricate history of the next few years, it is necessary to bear in mind Elizabeth's own views upon political and religious questions. It was the force of circumstances, rather than her own inclination, which ultimately drove her into that position as leader of the Protestant party, with which we are in the habit of connecting her name. Though Scotland, Spain, and France were all plunged in religious war, Elizabeth refused to join frankly with the Reformers. Careless of religion herself, freedom of opinion, but conformity of outward observance, was what she desired. She hated rebels and loved constituted authority. Yet her position at home threw her upon the side of the Reformation. In danger of a joint attack from the Catholic Princes, she thought it necessary to seek the safety of her people by fostering every cause of disunion and weakness among her enemies. At the same time, she dreaded to excite their anger, and attempted to keep up friendly relations with them. We therefore find her, in Scotland, in words supporting the young King's party, and occasionally giving them some kind of assistance, and also in communication with the Queen's party, and frequently taking measures for the restoration of the Queen; in Holland, permitting her subjects to send assistance to the rebels, sometimes assisting them herself, and in constant communication with their chiefs, at other times threatening to join with the Spanish Government to suppress them; sometimes in friendly relations with Spain, at other times allowing her subjects to insult it with their piratical expeditions; in France, sometimes giving help and comfort to the Huguenots, at other times forming close relations with the Government, and carrying to the brink of completion negotiations for marriage with the royal house. It was only when this conduct produced its natural effect, when she found her-

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self mistrusted by all parties among her allies, while her overthrow was the constant object of conspirators, that she was compelled at length to assume openly the leadership of the Protestants. At times, when her diplomacy seemed failing, fear of general action against her drove her to the verge of vigorous action; at times the advice of her Protestant counsellors, eager to cut the knot of difficulty which surrounded them, seemed to triumph over her reluctance to decided action, and thus a still further air of vacillation is given to a policy which is of itself difficult to follow.

The death of the Regent Murray gave an opportunity for the display of the Queen's policy. The death of one who was respected by all parties produced a temporary harmony. Had Elizabeth pleased, she might have secured the almost unanimous friendship of the country. All waited to hear what she would do. Had she acknowledged the young King, named him her successor, and properly supported a regent chosen in his name, the Queen's party would have been extinct. But Elizabeth still thought of effecting a compromise and restoring Mary to the throne. She even opened correspondence with Maitland and the Queen's friends. Thus left to themselves, the Scotch parties continued their rivalry, while English influence daily declined, as the King's friends found themselves, as they believed, betrayed by Elizabeth. She was, however, at length compelled to act, for Westmoreland, in concert with the Queen's party, made inroads into Northumberland, and in revenge Sussex three times passed the Border and laid waste the country. She still refused, however, to declare for the King, still threatened the restoration of Mary, and though Lennox was elected Regent, she left Scotland in a state of anarchy.

Her disastrous double policy in Scotland.

Sussex's invasion of Scotland had given ground for the interference of France. That country now threatened war, which in the existing condition of England could not but be highly dangerous. The Catholics, though defeated in the late rebellion, were by no means extinguished. The continued presence of Queen Mary in England gave them a constant centre round which to gather, and many who had before held aloof from conscientious grounds now thought themselves free to act; for Pius V. had been persuaded to issue hastily a Bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, which rendered all measures taken against her praiseworthy in the eyes of extreme Catholics. They were disappointed, however, in the

It produces danger from France as well as from Spain.

Pius V. issues his Bull of excommunication. Feb. 25.

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effect of the Bull. The Kings of France and Spain forbad it to be published; they could neither afford to break entirely with Elizabeth, nor did they relish encroachments on the part of the spiritual power. In England, after some delay, the Bull was fastened to the Bishop of London's door by a man of the name of Felton (May 15). The Queen felt some alarm. She believed that the union of the Catholic powers, so long dreaded, had at length come. Steps were taken for the defence of the country, and Felton was executed (Aug. 8). Time showed that, abroad at all events, the Bull had little or no effect. But in England disaffection and plotting continued, nor did Elizabeth feel safe from a general attack from the Catholic Princes till a change in the affairs of France placed the Government of that country in moderate hands.

England saved by the successes of the Huguenots.

Defeated in the year 1569 at Jarnac and at Montcontour, the Huguenots had lost all influence in the Government, which had remained in the hands of the strong Catholic party. A victory won in Poitou had changed this aspect of affairs. A new treaty had been patched up in August 1570 between the rival religionists, and Catherine and her son Charles seemed to be again inclined to listen to the counsels of the Huguenot leaders. This change of government rendered hostility to Spain certain on the part of France; no united action between the two countries against England was for the time possible. There even seemed to be a prospect of a friendship between France and England.

Alliance and marriage with Anjou suggested.

Such a friendship would be advantageous to both countries. Spain was the common enemy of the Huguenot party, now rising to power, and of the English; and the countries, if combined, could make an irresistible attack upon the Netherlands, the weak point of the Spanish monarchy. To England it further offered a freedom from hostile interference on behalf of Mary, or, could a compromise to secure her restoration be effected, a fair certainty that the conditions would be kept, especially if, as was soon proposed, the friendship was further secured by the marriage of Elizabeth to the Duke of Anjou, the French King's brother, to which at first Elizabeth seemed inclined to consent.

Mary and the Catholics turn towards Spain.

The suggestion of this marriage destroyed any confidence Mary may still have felt in French assistance, and threw her still more completely for support upon Spain. It was to that country, therefore, that all the malcontents of England now looked for assistance, and a great conspiracy was set on foot. The King of Spain himself, and his chief adviser Alva, were

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still most unwilling to break with Elizabeth. Her friendship with France was, as they well understood, fraught with danger to them, and if the connection between the countries was honest and permanent, would probably cause the loss of the Netherlands. Alva therefore did his best to reconcile himself with Elizabeth. But the Pope, indignant at the reception his Bull of excommunication had met with, and constantly assured by his agents in England of both the sufferings and strength of the Catholic party, was eager for some immediate action in their favour. His chief agent was a banker of the name of Ridolfi, who, though he had mingled in many plots, had been clever enough so to impose upon the ministry, that they were now on the point of employing him to visit foreign courts in their interest. He had thus an opportunity of carrying on his schemes unsuspected. The plot was an almost exact repetition of the old scheme in favour of Norfolk. Again it was intended that the Duke should marry Mary, that he should declare himself a Catholic, that with the aid of a Spanish army the Catholics should make a general rising, dethrone Elizabeth, and restore the old religion, together with the old nobility and policy of the country. Assistance from Spain was absolutely necessary. It was hopeless to secure it without a distinct declaration from Norfolk that he would play the part assigned to him. He had for some time been free from all real restraint; there was therefore no difficulty in negotiating with him; but he shrunk as usual from committing himself. However, when informed that no less than forty English Peers—more, that is, than half their whole number—were in favour of the plan, he consented to write to Philip, and employ Ridolfi as his agent. Thus armed with authority from Norfolk, from the Catholic Peers, and from the Queen of Scots, Ridolfi set out on his journey.

The Ridolfi plot.

While this dangerous plot was hatching, Elizabeth had been obliged to call a Parliament (April 2, 1571), which she had not done for four years. The House of Commons showed a temper which proved how deep Protestantism had struck its roots into the middle classes, and how out of harmony with the general feeling of the nation were both the intrigues of the Catholic nobles and the half measures and temporizing policy of the Queen and her Council. The attention of the House was directed almost entirely to ecclesiastical matters. Complaints of irregularities in the discipline of the Church, of toleration of Catholic worship, and of the gradual reintroduction of old ecclesiastical abuses, were the chief topics of

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complaint. It was in vain Elizabeth attempted to check this interference with what she considered her own prerogative. Many Bills of a Puritan tendency were introduced. Some of them—among others one insisting on the acceptance by the clergy of the Thirty-nine Articles, together with some stringent laws rendering it high treason to introduce Bulls, or to admit English subjects to the Church of Rome—became law. Others were allowed to drop either in the House of Lords or for want of the Queen's assent. The most prominent member of the Puritan party was Strickland. He was summoned before the Queen, reprimanded and excluded from the House; but the Queen was compelled to yield, when the Commons asserted their privilege of free speech, and he was reinstated.

Protestant temper of the Parliament.

While the Parliament was still sitting, Ridolfi had been carrying out his mission in Brussels. Alva, who found him too shallow and talkative to be thoroughly trusted, thought it much better that Elizabeth should be either captured or killed by the Catholics before Spain moved in the matter; but yet alarmed at the friendship between France and England, thought the opportunity was not one to be missed. Ridolfi, at all events, was so pleased with his success, that he despatched a messenger with a favourable report to Norfolk, and to the Bishop of Ross, Queen Mary's agent in England. Cecil, whose spies were everywhere, had the messenger apprehended, and by means of the rack, and information derived from a spy, who pretended to be the wretched man's friend, gained a considerable insight into the conspiracy; though, as the letters were in cipher, and the key was wanting, he was as yet ignorant of the chief people implicated.

Alva's view of the Ridolfi plot.

Ridolfi plot discovered. May 5.

Meanwhile, the marriage with Anjou, on which to all appearance Elizabeth's safety depended, had come to nothing; as usual, she could not bring herself to accept a husband. The two courts were too much interested in the maintenance of peace to allow an open breach. Religious scruples were asserted on both sides, and in the place of the marriage a league between England and France against Spain was suggested; and, to give a show of sincerity on the part of England, the privateers were directed chiefly against Spanish commerce.

Ridolfi had betaken himself to Madrid. There Alva's plan had chiefly recommended itself. A man had been found who offered to undertake to put Elizabeth out of the way, and orders were sent to Alva to be ready to invade England as soon as that step should be taken. Meanwhile fresh information was reaching Cecil. Sir John

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Hawkins had pretended to turn traitor for the sake originally of obtaining the freedom of some of his comrades who were in Spanish prisons. His deceit had been so successful that the Spanish Government began to treat with him to cover the proposed invasion, which thus came at once to Cecil's ears. All this time Norfolk had been unsuspected. The chance discovery of a sum of money which he was remitting to the partisans of Queen Mary in Scotland caused his reapprehension, together with that of his secretaries. Torture wrung from them the key to the cipher which had hitherto been wanting. The missing link in the evidence was thus supplied. The whole secret of the Ridolfi conspiracy was known. Arundel, Norfolk, and Lumley, the chief leaders of it, were arrested, together with the Bishop of Ross, who at last, under fear apparently of torture, made a full confession of the intrigues of the few last years. All those intrigues which had gathered round Norfolk and his marriage with Mary were thus discovered, and the first great plot of the reign was thwarted.

Norfolk again arrested. Sept. 5.

It might have been expected that the discovery of the plot would at once have broken through the diplomatic refinements of Elizabeth's policy, and have forced things into a more natural position. With the treason of the Catholics, the complicity of Mary with their plans, and the connection of Spain with the conspiracy plainly proved, it would have seemed natural that the punishment of the traitors, the death of Mary, and open war with Spain would follow, especially as the treaty with France was still on foot.

The strange web of conflicting interests which surrounded the policy of the time prevented any such effects from arising. For the moment indeed, it seemed as if Elizabeth would pursue a more direct line of conduct. Norfolk was tried for high treason and found guilty; a full account of the evidence against Mary which had hitherto been suppressed was allowed to be published; the Queen wrote to the Earl of Mar, now Regent in the King's name, to assure him of her open assistance; the Spanish ambassador was peremptorily ordered out of England. But there for the time the matter ended. The Duke of Norfolk's execution was postponed from day to day, nor was it till after a strong expression of feeling from the Parliament, which was then again assembled, that Elizabeth was brought to consent to his death. Neither her own obvious danger, nor the petition of the Bishops of England, nor the joint request of the two Houses of Parliament, to be allowed to bring in a Bill of

Momentary energy of the Queen.

Execution of Norfolk. June 2.

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Attainder, could induce her to act with severity against Mary. In Scotland,—where her double dealing had allowed the Queen's party again to rise, and (in an attempted surprise on Stirling) to put Lennox the Regent to death,—instead of fulfilling her promise to his successor, Mar, she as usual laboured at a compromise, and let matters take their own course. And when it became evident that Alva, disgusted at the discovery of his plans, was turning a deaf ear to the prayers of the refugees, and persuading Philip to bear all insults rather than break with England, all thought of war with Spain was laid aside.

Resumption of diplomacy.

There was one more difficulty to be met. This arose from the Queen's relations with France. At the moment of the discovery of the plot, the French, naturally supposing that Elizabeth would be willing to join with the enemies of Spain, had taken the opportunity of drawing the existing friendship between themselves and England closer. In the place of Anjou it was now suggested that the Queen should marry his younger brother, Alençon, a man not more than half her age; nor did she reject the suggestion, but as usual coquetted with it, acknowledging the wisdom of such a step, but shrinking from carrying it out. Meanwhile, before she had made up her mind, the treaty between the two countries was renewed and strengthened, though not without considerable misgivings of the Queen's honesty on the part of the French. Catherine de Medici and her son Charles were at this time, as has been already mentioned, somewhat under the influence of the Protestant party; Admiral Coligny, the head of that party, being in high favour. The object they aimed at was a joint attack on Spain through the Netherlands; the Protestants, for obvious reasons, desiring to assist the Prince of Orange; Catherine and her son being anxious to add the Netherlands to France. But the supremacy of the Huguenot party was by no means secured. The Guises and the friends of Spain were very powerful, and commanded the mob of Paris. Catherine and the King cared little for either religion, hated the leaders of both parties equally, and attempted to rule by playing them one against the other. The continuance of the Huguenots' supremacy, even their safety, depended on the success of the war they were urging, and that war could only be successful with the assistance of Elizabeth. But Elizabeth was as usual beginning to play false. Feeling safe for the present from France, she was making her peace with Spain, and already, in compliance with the demands of Alva, had driven the

Alençon suggested instead of Anjou as the Queen's husband.

Joint war against Spain in the Netherlands intended.

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Dutch privateer Admiral de la Mark from his refuge in England. This act of friendship had not had the effect Alva had expected when urging it. The Netherlands were ripe for revolt, smarting under the heavy taxation Alva had laid upon them. De la Mark, grown desperate when deprived of his refuge, sailed up the river Meuse and captured Brille (April 1572) in the name of the Prince of Orange, thus laying the first stone of the Dutch Republic. This beginning was followed by a general insurrection in Holland and Zeeland. Count Louis of Nassau, with the aid of French Protestants, captured Mons. English volunteers flocked across to join the rebel army. The adhesion and assistance of Elizabeth alone was wanted to enable the French to join with effect in the quarrel and drive the Spaniards from the Netherlands. But Elizabeth, as before mentioned, was already half pledged to Alva, and while the French were urging upon her the necessity of combining with them in vigorous action, they discovered that she was secretly offering to accept Flushing from the rebels, with the intention of surrendering it to the Spaniards. Such an act of duplicity destroyed any confidence in the English Queen. Joint action seemed impossible.

Where, on the taking of Brille, the Protestants were again in insurrection.

The plan thwarted by Elizabeth's duplicity.

The failure of the English alliance naturally weakened the influence of the Huguenot or war party. Meanwhile the party which was averse to the war was making its influence felt. The Guises were the avowed friends of Spain, and were the favourites of the fanatical population of Paris. Still the King seemed firm in his late resolves. The Admiral Coligny was still his most trusted adviser, and the triumph of the Protestants was looked on as complete, when the friendship between them and the royal house was sealed by the marriage of the young King of Navarre, on whom their hopes were fixed, and Margaret of Valois, the King's sister. It seemed as though the danger of a new civil war was passing away. A reconciliation was made between Coligny and the Duke of Guise. They shook hands in Charles's presence, and the appearance of friendship was assumed. But the reconciliation was hollow. The rival parties were ready on the first opportunity to fly at each other's throats. To Catherine de Medici belongs the guilt of affording them that opportunity. Her views were solely political. She hated the house of Guise and the house of Chatillon equally, as they equally tended to overshadow the influence of the Crown. She thought that a chance now offered of letting them destroy each other. A very

Fall of Huguenot influence at the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Aug. 24, 1572.

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little would excite the Huguenots to a fresh outbreak. Counteracting measures would be forced upon the Catholics. In the midst of the confusion, the power of her own party and of the Crown might be secured. At her instigation, the Duchess of Nemours (the widow of the late Duke of Guise, who had been murdered, it was believed with the connivance of Coligny), together with the present Duke of Guise and the Duke d'Aumale, employed an assassin to shoot the Admiral. The attack was only partially successful. The Protestants, who had collected in crowds at the late marriage, were lulled into security by the King's conduct. Catherine saw that unless some further step was taken, her plan would fail, and there would be no outbreak. In alliance with the chief Catholic Princes, she induced the King to believe that the Huguenots were planning to carry him off, as they had tried to do his predecessor at Amboise, and he gave leave that some of the chief leaders of the party should be killed. The opportunity was accepted by the leaders of the Catholic party, the fanatical and bloodthirsty mob of Paris was let loose, and the fearful massacre of St. Bartholomew was the consequence. For three days the massacre continued. The example was followed in other parts of France, at Orleans, Rouen, Bordeaux, and Toulon, till many thousands of Protestants of all ages had been cruelly murdered.

The news of the massacre was received with a shout of triumph by the Catholics of Europe. At Rome the Pope gave it his fullest approval; processions were made, and medals struck to honour it. The English Catholic refugees in Holland followed his example. Philip of Spain, as the head of the Catholic party, rejoiced that at last France had ceased to temporize with the Protestants, and, as a politician, saw with pleasure the destruction of the league between France and England, which was so threatening to his power in the Netherlands. In England the news was received with fear and abhorrence. The people were clamorous for reprisals, and demanded at least the death of Queen Mary. Elizabeth again believed, as upon the discovery of the Ridolfi plot, that the conjunction of Catholic Europe against herself, which she had so constantly dreaded, had at last arrived. She made preparations for war, and, though she could not bring herself to listen entirely to the cry of vengeance raised against Mary, she determined to rid herself of her dangerous rival by restoring her as a prisoner to the King's party in Scotland. Mar, the Regent, would have accepted her, but was determined not to be used merely as a cat's-paw, and he therefore demanded the public approval of Elizabeth and the presence of English

Elizabeth again roused to activity.

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troops at Mary's execution. Before an answer could be returned, Mar suddenly died, and the regency was forced upon Morton, somewhat against his will, and without any certain guarantee from Elizabeth. He found the terms Mar had suggested scornfully rejected, and thus, deserted by Elizabeth, was plunged again into civil war. Maitland and Grange, and other chiefs of the Queen's party, held the Castle of Edinburgh, without which the possession of the country could not be complete. At length the danger of the extinction of the King's party became so probable that Elizabeth was compelled to take the step she had shrunk from so long. An army was raised, and placed under command of Drury, who advanced to Edinburgh, and bombarded and took the castle (May 27, 1573). Maitland died almost immediately after the capitulation, Kirkaldy of Grange was executed, and for the time the Queen's party was completely destroyed. But this energy, consequent upon the fright excited by the massacre, did not last long. Affairs fell back into the hands of politicians, and the old course of diplomatic double-dealing was continued.

She assists the King's party in Scotland.

Her alarm subsides.

It soon became evident that there was in truth no union between the Catholic powers, but, on the contrary, a disposition on the part of both of them to continue or increase their friendship with Elizabeth. The French ambassador was indeed received with all outward marks of displeasure. The Queen and Court were dressed in mourning, and a gloomy, ominous silence reigned. But signs were not wanting that there was no intention of breaking the peace. At the same time, Alva seized the opportunity to try and reunite England and Spain. He felt certain that all confidence in the friendship of France for England must, for the time at all events, have been destroyed, and he urged Philip to regain, if possible, the alliance of England, which could alone enable him to conquer his rebel subjects in the Netherlands. In spite of the earnest entreaties of the English Catholic refugees, Philip was induced to make the required overtures, and to propose a treaty with England, while Alva was so successful with Elizabeth that the English volunteers in Holland were recalled.

Friendship with Spain renewed.

In fact, Elizabeth was still bent on producing, by means of her tortuous diplomacy, a state of affairs in Europe in accordance with her own peculiar views, while, at the same time, she secured her own safety. This she considered threatened by the presence of the Catholic refugees in the Netherlands, and by the supremacy of the Guise party in France.

Her views on the European situation wholly political.

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She wanted therefore to induce the Prince of Orange and his party to make peace (especially as they seemed to be worsted), securing only for themselves political liberty and toleration of conscience, but accepting Catholicism. At the same time—in order to compel Philip to enter into any compromise with his rebel subjects, to insist upon the Catholic refugees leaving his dominions, and to relax in some degree in favour of English sailors the strictness of the laws of the Inquisition—it was necessary so far to favour the insurgents as to be able to use them as a standing threat. To gain these ends, she seems even to have been willing to take into consideration her religious position, and to think of again uniting herself with Catholic Europe. In France the same sort of game had to be played; a little assistance was to be given to the Huguenots, friendly relations to be kept up with Catherine de Medici and her son, and by this means the Guises kept out of power.

In both cases her diplomacy was frustrated. She trusted to her management of the political interests of the Princes, and wholly underrated the strength of religious feeling—of Protestantism in Holland, of Catholicism among the populace of Paris and among the nobility of France. In pursuance of the line of policy she had adopted, she gave up all open support of the party of the Prince of Orange, which, left without her assistance, fell into the greatest distress. Having, as he thought, secured the stability of government by his success in war and by the severity of his punishments, Alva had attempted to make the States profitable to Spain by exacting a large and illegal tax. The effect had been a general renewal of hostilities, and Alva, confessing himself unable to complete his work, had asked to be recalled. In 1573, his request had been granted, and Requescens had taken his place. Under his government the Spanish rule appeared to thrive. Prince Louis, and another Prince of the house of Nassau, fell at the battle of Mook Heath (April 14, 1574), and though the defence of Leyden (May 26 to October 3) somewhat re-established the position of the Orange party, Elizabeth could be moved no further than to attempt a mediation, distinctly giving it to be understood that she should insist on the acceptance by the rebels of Roman Catholicism. Her mediation was futile. Both Philip and the Prince of Orange refused such conditions, and it became evident that since the Prince determined to fight the battle out, if assistance could not be obtained from England it must be sought from France. As the acquisition of the sea coast provinces by France would have been a

Recall of Alva. Success of Requescens. Nov. 1573.

Her policy drives the Netherlands towards France.

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heavy blow to the naval supremacy of England, it could not be allowed to take place. The Queen was therefore thrust back after all into her old position. If Philip would not compromise, she would be compelled in self-defence to assist the rebels. Thus, in January 1576, ambassadors came both from Requescens and from the Prince of Orange to attempt to settle the Queen's mind in one direction or other. At first she leant towards the rebels. Her best counsellors urged her in that direction. The seizure of an English ship and the imprisonment of its crew by the Inquisition seemed to show how little she had to hope from the friendship of Spain. But, on the other hand, her feelings were all in favour of the Spaniards. She was angry with the obstinacy of the States with regard to their religion. A Parliament had been called in March, and the bold conduct of one of the Puritan leaders, Wentworth, who had complained of the monopolies she had granted, had excited her anger with the Protestants at home. The sudden death of Requescens gave her an excuse for following her own inclination; and St. Aldegonde, the Dutch ambassador, was dismissed in disgrace. She even went so far in her opposition to the States, that open acts of hostility broke out, and it seemed for the time as if the cause of liberty must finally be defeated.

Elizabeth attempts a compromise, but fails.

It was probably the course of events in France which had given Elizabeth the courage to follow her own wishes, and to break for the time with the Protestant interest in the Netherlands, with which in fact her own position and the prosperity of the nation were indissolubly connected. After the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the Protestants in the west of France had rallied, and secured La Rochelle against the attack of the King's eldest brother, the Duke of Anjou, and had shown themselves so powerful that a new pacification between the religious parties was arranged. This was rendered the more easy, because Catherine and her son Anjou were anxious to be free from difficulties in France to secure the crown of Poland, then vacant. Having found her plan for the destruction of both parties completely thwarted, Catherine had earnestly sought the friendship of Elizabeth, and had still further pressed the marriage between that Queen and the Duke of Alençon. The horror excited by the massacre was too strong to allow cordial relations to be established, but the Courts were externally in friendship. In the spring of the following year (May 1574) Charles IX. died, and Anjou, who was regarded as one of the chief instigators of the massacre, ascended the throne as Henry III. The pacification had been

Events in France leaving her free to act.

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badly kept by the Catholics. The accession of the new King gave the Protestants both a reason and an opportunity for fresh precautions. They formed themselves into a sort of independent republic, and established a central council at Millaud, in Rovergue, which should exercise supreme authority over them. Alençon had found his position as heir-presumptive extremely uneasy. He was suspected of intending to join the Huguenots. He was very anxious to conclude his marriage with Elizabeth, but the influence of the Guises, who saw danger both in his marriage and in his Protestant inclinations, was sufficient to induce the King to keep him a prisoner in Paris, where the young King of Navarre was detained in the same way. At length, in 1575, Alençon succeeded in making his escape, and placed himself at the head of the Huguenots, who were prepared for a rising. Condé, one of their leaders, was at Strasburg, threatening to march on Paris, and Casimir, brother of the Elector Palatine, was threatening to join the rebel army of the South with 10,000 Germans. In February 1576, the King of Navarre also contrived to escape, and the two Princes at once applied to Elizabeth for assistance.

Here again, as in her relations with Spain, she pursued a shifting policy. The Huguenots, while in arms, restrained the power of the Guises; but, once victorious, would have made common cause with the Prince of Orange, and the annexation of the Provinces to France would probably have resulted. A little assistance was therefore given them; the suit of Alençon was in some degree favoured; but as their power rose, Elizabeth appeared as mediator. A new pacification was brought about, and edicts of toleration issued. Huguenots were declared equal to Catholics in the eye of the law, and eight towns placed in their hands as a guarantee. Elizabeth believed that now parties in France were so nearly balanced that there was no longer any danger of an alliance with Spain against her on the one hand, or of the annexation of the Netherlands on the other. She held herself free then to act as she pleased with regard to Spain, and, as has been seen, dismissed St. Aldegonde, with an abrupt refusal of all his requests.

She refuses help to the rebels.

For the moment it seemed as if her policy had triumphed. Her conduct with regard to Spain was so friendly as to secure her from danger from Philip. She still professed to approve of the claims of liberty of conscience on the part of the rebels, and threw the blame of the continuation of the war on their religious obstinacy in unessentials; while France, as she thought, was completely neutralized. But her real want

Apparent success, real failure of her plans.

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of success soon became obvious. In France, the League of the Protestants had been followed by the organization of the Catholic League under the Guises; the King placed himself at its head. The edicts were disregarded; the States-General held at Blois were wholly Catholic; Alençon, a mere adventurer, had changed sides; uniformity of religion was ordered; Condé and Navarre were threatened with the loss of their privileges as Princes; the Protestant leaders were exiled. In exact opposition to Elizabeth's hopes, she found that the weakness of her support had caused the ruin of the Protestant party, and that the Guises were again triumphant. In the Netherlands also a complete change of affairs took place. On the death of Requescens (March 5, 1576), the Spanish soldiery were left unpaid, and broke out into mutiny. Their fierce riots compelled all the States of the Netherlands, both Protestants and Catholics, to unite. The rival parties came to an agreement, and made a treaty at Ghent, demanding the dismissal of foreign troops, and government according to their own laws. Don John of Austria had been appointed to succeed Requescens. He was sent, with the strictest orders from Philip not to interfere with England. But he was ambitious. He could not forget his late successes over the Turks in the cause of Catholic Christianity, nor the project for marrying him with Mary Queen of Scots, which was so favourite a scheme among the English Catholics. He was not admitted to the country till he accepted the Treaty of Ghent (Feb. 17, 1577), and till the Spanish soldiers were sent to Italy. But this was merely a pretence. Don John had determined to attack England, and immediately began to bring the troops back again. The Queen was therefore in just as much danger as she had ever been before. The Guises were in power in France, the Spaniards were threatening her from the Netherlands.

In her fear, as on the two previous occasions of the Ridolfi plot and the massacre of St. Bartholomew, she took a straightforward step. She entered into negotiations with the States. She promised them a supply of money. She even promised them a considerable army under Leicester. But the union among the States was shortlived. To have secured Elizabeth's support they must all have agreed to accept Catholicism. The Maritime Provinces could not bring themselves to the step; while the Catholic Provinces, or Walloons, thought they should be able to gain their object by putting themselves into the hands of Matthias, brother of Rudolph, Emperor of Germany. They thus thought to divide the two branches of the Austrian house, and secure all they wished for—political independence. To

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Elizabeth this also seemed probable. She was displeased with the obstinacy of the Maritime States; she believed that the arrival of Matthias would check the schemes of Don John, and that she at all events was safe. The entire destruction by that Prince of the insurgent army at Gemblours (Jan. 31, 1578) also tended to make her lukewarm in their cause, and all her promises ended in the loan of a little money, and the endorsement of certain bills by which they raised money, an obligation which she afterwards refused to meet.

Such conduct naturally excited the extremest indignation, the effect of which was very nearly to force her to take the step she most of all hated, and to marry Alençon, now become the Duke of Anjou; for the States, looking for assistance, naturally threw themselves upon France, and Alençon, careless of what cause he supported if only it rendered him independent, raised an army in their favour. The Queen could scarcely hope by any amount of cajolery to win the States back again. If they were to pass into the hands of Alençon, it would be better for her to have some hold upon him also. She therefore pushed her negotiations for marriage with him to the furthest extremes. She brought him over to England, professed to like him, though he was hideous both in person and in character. She risked her popularity in the pursuit of the scheme, for the French marriage was hateful to the people. She even insisted upon the punishment of two honest men, Stubbs and Page, who wrote and sold a strong pamphlet against it. Their real loyalty and the cruelty of the sentence was proved when they left the scaffold, where they had just lost their right hands, crying, "God save Queen Elizabeth." Still she could not venture quite to defy popular feeling; and when, by a small majority, the Council declared itself against the marriage, it was for the time dropped.

The Low Countries, finding no help, apply to Alençon.

To retain her hold on them, she thinks of marrying him. Aug. 1579.

The plain issue of the religious struggle which was convulsing Europe had hitherto been constantly clouded by the personal interests of individual Princes. The time was now approaching when the quarrel fell more directly into the hands of the people themselves. By extreme good fortune, Elizabeth had kept the country free from war, and it had become increasingly prosperous. Fugitives from Holland had established manufactures. Agriculture had adapted itself to the new state of society, and those who took no interest in religion or politics were content. But beside this prosperity there had grown up, since the massacre of St. Bartholomew,

Political causes preventing the action of Princes, the people of Europe begin to act for themselves.

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a strong hatred and a strong fear of Papists and their plans. This undercurrent of feeling had made itself visible in the conduct of the swarming privateers of the Western harbours, in the action of Parliament in spite of the repressive measures of the Queen, and but lately in the great expedition of Drake, which had sailed from England with the Queen's full approbation, during the short period of determined action against Spain which followed upon the disclosure of Don John's intentions. The temper of the Catholics was likewise rising, and among them there already existed a religious organization, untrammelled by politics, with the Pope at its head. Supported by the Guises, by the enthusiastic Catholics of France, and by the people of Spain, who saw with dislike the dilatory conduct of their King, they were determined to act with energy. England was to be the object of their assault; and in Ireland, Scotland, and England itself, their influence at once began to be felt, till at length they carried their Princes with them; while the irritation of the Protestants rose to a height which could no longer be restrained, and in their case too their natural leaders were forced to take decided action.

The Covenant signed at Edinburgh, December 3, 1557, was as follows:—

"We, perceiving how Satan, in his members, the Antichrists of our time, cruelly doth rage, seeking to overthrow and to destroy the evangel of Christ and His Congregation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to strive in our Master's cause even unto death, being certain of the victory in Him. The which our duty being well considered, we do promise, before the majesty of God and His Congregation, that we (by His grace) shall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed Word of God and His Congregation; and shall labour at our possibility to have faithful ministers purely and truly to minister Christ's evangel and sacraments to His people. We shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, the whole Congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, at our whole powers and wearing of our lives, against Satan, and all wicked power that does intend tyranny or trouble against the foresaid Congregation. Unto the which Holy Word and Congregation we do join us, and also do forsake and renounce the congregation of Satan, with all the superstitious abomination and idolatry thereof; and moreover, this our faithful promise before God, testified to His Congregation, by our subscriptions at these presents."

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ELIZABETH

(CONTINUED).

IRELAND. 1558-1584.

IRELAND, always a chief difficulty to the English Government, had become more than ever unmanageable. The establishment of Protestantism in England had added religious hatred to the old national differences which divided the country. Not that the religious revolution had been carried out with at all the same completeness as in England. But the very weakness of the reform had rendered it more irksome. On the accession of Elizabeth, there were scarcely any Protestants in Ireland, nor was it constitutionally necessary that the laws which regulated one nation should regulate the other. Yet political necessity had led to the establishment of the Protestant Church. It was contrary to Elizabeth's plan of government that two external forms of religion should be allowed to exist. The divided allegiance which was the necessary consequence of Papacy under a Protestant government rendered the establishment of Protestantism highly desirable. If it was established, in accordance with the Queen's views it must be universal. Consequently the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy became law in Ireland. Within the limits of the English Pale, where English law was held to be paramount, recusant Bishops were therefore removed and Protestants appointed; the Church and abbey lands were appropriated; and in the churches there was either Protestant worship, or, as too frequently happened, no worship at all. In other parts of the country Protestantism was only established and upheld, where possible, by force. Eager for money, the Queen farmed instead of colonizing the Church lands. The churches fell into ruins. In a large number of parishes there was no service at all. In still more, some wholly unfit person hurried through some semblance of service in exchange for a wretched pittance from the farmer of the lands. The new Church seemed to justify the worst that could be said of it. Meanwhile the widest connivance was extended to Roman Catholic worship; in every castle and village, and among the mountains, the old Church continued its ministra-

Condition of Ireland.

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tions uninterrupted. The religious zeal of the Irish was thus kept up. The weak and miserable Protestant Church became not undeservedly an object of hatred, and the cause of Catholicism indissolubly connected with that of the nation. The same irritating weakness was visible in the temporal government of the island. Parsimony prevented the maintenance of a firm administration. The English influence was supported by a few scattered garrisons, which were forced to make up for their want of strength by the cruel vigour with which they acted. Thus the opposition of creeds and of nations grew constantly stronger, till the Irish placed their cause in the hands of the Pope and the King of Spain, and the whole country had again piece by piece to be reconquered.

Ulster insurrection. 1565.

The first insurrection broke out in 1565, among the native Irish of Ulster. It was headed by Shan O'Neil, the eldest of the legitimate children of the late Earl of Tyrone. An illegitimate son of the name of Matthew had been put in his place by the English. Shan O'Neil sought, and in some degree obtained, the favour of the English Queen, but at length broke loose from all engagements with England, and claimed the sovereignty of Ulster, with the regal title of The O'Neil. Elizabeth contrived to raise against him the smaller native chieftains, and a colony of Scotch who had settled in Antrim. With their aid Sir Henry Sidney overran his country, and he was finally murdered by the Scotch. The fall of Shan O'Neil, and the good government of Sir Henry Sidney, seemed to promise a more prosperous time. Tirlogh O'Neil, a kinsman of the late head of the clan, promised to assist the English Government, and some of the towns began to show signs of industry.

But the anarchical condition of the whole country, the local disputes among the chieftains, the fierce cruelty with which any act of marauding was chastised by the English garrisons, and the want of any great uniform plan of government, soon put an end to any semblance of peace. Sir Henry Sidney had urged that the province of Munster should be formed into an English presidency, and that it should be governed by English laws; the supremacy of the Earl of Desmond, the head of the Southern Geraldines, being thus destroyed. It was hoped that at the same time the chiefs of the smaller clans might be gradually civilized by being intrusted with positions of authority. Such a plan must have been connected with considerable colonization, and Cecil appears to have gone so far as to have arranged the details, by which colonists would have been intro-

Plans for colonization of Munster. 1568.

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duced upon land already confiscated, without invading anew the rights of any Irish chief. The plan was too expensive to suit the views of Elizabeth, but the idea of colonization was still kept alive. A long standing quarrel between the Butlers of Ormond and the Geraldines of Desmond was occupying the courts of law. Elizabeth insisted, whatever the law might be, that judgment should be given in favour of Ormond, who was a Protestant, and loyal; and to complete the discomfiture of Desmond, he was summoned to London, and arrested to be tried for treason. No severe measures were however taken against him; he was allowed to live at large, but was detained in England. In July 1568, he thought it wiser to submit, and surrendered to the Queen all his lands and property, confessing that they were lawfully hers, and that he would thankfully receive back whatever she liked to give him. This surrender might be brought to include nearly half the province of Munster; and were an investigation into titles instituted and forfeitures pressed, the greater part of the other half might probably have been secured. Upon this, a certain number of Devonshire gentlemen, the same class of adventurers who were the chief supporters of the piracy and privateering which was at that time the fashion in the West of England, offered, if the province was granted to them, to conquer it at their own expense, and hold it of the Queen. This would certainly have led to a war of extermination, and neither Cecil nor the Queen liked openly to sanction such a scheme. It might perhaps have come to something had it not been prematurely exploded. Carew, St. Leger and others, having purchased some obsolete titles to land in Munster, went there with bodies of retainers and forcibly made their claims good.

To touch their property in the land has always been to rouse the fury of the Irish. The knowledge that the idea of colonization was seriously held in England, and the exaggerated notions such knowledge was likely to foster, induced the Earl of Clancarty, and James Fitz-Maurice, brother of the Earl of Desmond, to determine on insurrection and to apply to Spain for help. The insurrection, as usual, assumed the form of murderous onslaughts, met by reprisals of an equally sanguinary nature. The details are almost too horrible to relate. Neither sex nor age were spared by either party. The war was unlike that waged between civilized nations, and resembled the exterminating warfare of the American frontier line. True to her policy of expending as little money as possible, Elizabeth wished at first to employ the Ormonds to suppress their old enemies the Desmonds. But

Insurrection in Munster. July 1569.

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when Ormond heard of the colonization schemes, he too declared that, rather than countenance the destruction of his country, he would join the rebels. Sir Henry Sidney had therefore to give up his plan of conciliation, and with such little means as he had, amounting to about 2000 English soldiers, to march into the disturbed districts, where, by a succession of constant cruel slaughters, he succeeded in restoring some outward semblance of order. Fitz-Maurice, he boasts, was a mere wandering outcast. Connaught was held in order by Sir Edward Felton, while Humphrey Gilbert garrisoned Kilmallock in Munster. But this success was quite transitory, no money came to support Sidney from England. His garrisons, without pay, had to live at free quarters. Mutinous, hated by the people, and living by robbery, they degenerated into bands of brigands. Fitz-Maurice again assumed all his old authority in Munster. Felton could hardly hold his own in Athlone.

Meanwhile the Irish appeal to Spain for assistance had not been answered as they expected. The Pope and Philip were never on very good terms, and the King was forbidden to accept the gift of Ireland which was offered to him except as a fief from the Roman See. Moreover, the change of policy of Mary Queen of Scots, who, it will be remembered, about the year 1570, turned for support from France to Spain, made Philip dislike the idea of separating Ireland from the English dominions. To obtain the friendship of the English Catholics was more important to him than the acquisition of Ireland; and the English Catholics, who fully expected by his aid to succeed in placing Queen Mary on the throne, would scarcely have thanked him for depriving their favourite of a large portion of her dominions. If Spain was to help Ireland, it must be on behalf of the Roman Catholic religion, and not on the national question. The prospect of any help almost disappeared when the discovery of the Ridolfi plot induced Philip to attempt to renew his old friendship with England.

But though thus left to themselves for the present, the hatred which the attempt to change their religion had engendered in the Irish led them to continue their old career of insurrection. Sidney, who disliked his unsatisfactory and cruel work, was recalled (March 1571). Fitz-William, an able soldier, now weakened by age, was left in his place. Starved by the parsimony of the Queen, he could effect but little. The condition of the English grew worse and worse; the Protestant religion again almost disappeared. Once more the English Government determined to despatch a vigorous expedition. Sir

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John Perrot, with an army, came over (April 1571) to reproduce the cruel scenes of Sidney's march. Again Fitz-Maurice and his comrades were reduced to wander as outcasts on the hills (Nov.). But again the want of support from home rendered all successes useless; Perrot's army mutinied for want of pay. The Queen would give him no help; he was therefore obliged to try gentler measures. Fitz-Maurice was told that on certain terms he might be pardoned. He accepted the conditions. All attempts at the establishment of English law came to an end, and the Irish chiefs again resumed their authority. At the same time (Jan. 1573), though only under the strictest promise to use his best influence to destroy the Roman Catholic religion, Desmond was at length allowed to return from England. Unfortunately, even this arrangement was not honestly carried out; no sooner did the Earl arrive in Dublin than he was again apprehended. He escaped from prison, but held that his second arrest released him from all his engagements, and as the English were too weak to recapture him, he regained in his native province all his former authority.

But although Ireland was thus left for the present in Irish hands, the idea of colonization, which might reclaim the country at little cost to Government, was by no means given up. It was now proposed to make the attempt in Ulster. A colony of the Scotch had there met with some success, and there seemed no reason why the English should fail. A son of Elizabeth's secretary, Sir Thomas Smith, was granted a strip of land near the Giant's Causeway. This fresh attempt, and the excitement produced by the massacre of St. Bartholomew, again roused the Irish to action. The English lost all power in Connaught, and Smith's colonization was an entire failure. The attempt was renewed on a larger and more promising scale by Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex; a large tract of country, called Clandeboy, stretching from Belfast along Lough Neagh and the river Bann to the sea, was granted to him, with full authority (Sept. 1573). He was to conquer the country at his own expense, and after four years' possession to pay a fixed rent to the Treasury. Many gentlemen joined in the venture. As usual, at first all seemed prosperous. Sir Brian O'Neil, the chief of the country, made his submission, and placed his cattle in Essex's hands. It was, however, a mere subterfuge. In a few days he disappeared, driving his own cattle and those of Essex along with him. It was everywhere found that the fair speeches of the inhabitants covered deadly hostility; and as the winter came on, the English

Colonization of Ulster by Essex.

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were obliged to entrench themselves in Belfast. The troops began to loose heart and desert, the provisions that had been supplied him proved bad and produced illness, and he shortly had to confess that private enterprizes were fruitless, that, unless armed with authority from home, he could do nothing against the difficulties which surrounded him. Surrendering his grant and all hope of civilizing Ireland in his own knight-errant fashion, he accepted the position of Governor of Ulster (May 1574), and in that capacity, with great cruelty, succeeded in establishing the English authority over the O'Neils.

It was always difficult to induce an English gentleman to accept the position of Deputy in Ireland. Not only did the Queen's parsimony go far to entail ruin on those who accepted the office, the blame of failure, which seemed nearly inevitable, was always thrown upon them; the smallness of the means at their disposal, together with the untamed character of the inhabitants, constantly led them to acts of cruelty which were highly repulsive to them. At length, in November 1575, Sir Henry Sidney, who had already been unusually successful there, was persuaded, much against his will, to accept the government. By the Irish he was on the whole liked. His arrival was regarded with pleasure, and during the triumphal progress with which he entered upon his office he everywhere met with much apparent enthusiasm, and received the submission of the more noted chiefs. But he still held to his former view, that the only way to govern Ireland in peace was to establish Presidencies in Munster and Connaught. The absence of James Fitz-Maurice, Desmond's brother, who had been the leader of the late insurrections, gave him, as he thought, a fair opportunity, and he established Drury in Munster and Malby in Connaught as Presidents (December 1576). This measure seemed entirely to contradict the flattering hopes raised on the Deputy's arrival. It seemed that after all, Irish customs and Irish law were to disappear, and the authority of Irish chieftains to be superseded. Nor did the conduct of the Presidents allay this fear. In his first circuit Drury hung about a hundred men, and even then apologized for his moderation.

Thus, rendered suspicious on their tenderest point by the various efforts at colonization, and disappointed in the hopes which the establishment of Desmond in his own dominions and the supposed character of Sidney had raised, the Irish again burst into insurrection. This time it was the Burkes of Connaught who took the first step. They

Connaught insurrection. Jan. 1577.

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speedily learnt that the establishment of the Presidencies was not intended to be a dead letter. The countries of Shan and Ulick Burke, the sons of the Earl of Clanrickard, were mercilessly laid waste. Malby the President wrote: "I marched into their country . . . with determination to consume them with fire and sword, sparing neither old nor young. I burnt all their corn and houses, and committed to the sword all that could be found. This was in Shan Burke's country. Then I burnt Ulick Burke's country in like manner. . . . I went on sparing none that came in my way, which cruelty did so amaze their followers that they could not tell where to bestow themselves. So I left Ulick as little corn and as few houses standing as I had left his brother, and what people was found had as little favour as the other had." Law, upheld by hundreds of executions, insurrections suppressed with such ruthless cruelty as this, could not but excite the bitterest enmity, and when, for the support of the English army, a cess or tax was laid upon the land within the Pale, the gentlemen of that district became little less disaffected than the native or Anglo-Irish. A universal outbreak was scarcely to be avoided.

Disaffection of the Pale.

This general discontent reached its height about the year 1577, at the time when the Queen, believing that a war with Spain would be inevitable, had despatched Drake on his piratical excursion. The Irish malcontents again thought that an opportunity had arrived for interesting Philip in their cause. This they considered would be best done by begging his assistance, when an important insurrection was already on foot. Since friendly relations between Spain and England had been established after the Ridolfi plot, it was to Rome that the malcontents chiefly looked. It was with money and troops supplied by the Pope that they now intended to begin their movement. Sanders, an English refugee priest, and Stukely, who, originally one of the English privateers, had lately been living at Madrid, high in favour with Philip, and constantly urging him to interfere on behalf of Ireland, seemed fitting agents for their purpose. Fitz-Maurice also was abroad. To him and Stukely were intrusted the forces. Sanders was to accompany them as Legate. Stukely's troops were diverted by the King of Portugal to an invasion of Africa, where their leader closed his strange career. Philip, as usual slow to act, gave no immediate assistance. The friendship with England was again patched up; and the expedition was postponed for a year. At last, in May 1579, the success of Drake's voyage became known, the temper of the Spanish

Catholic expedition to Ireland. 1579.

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people became violently excited, the Catholics, indignant at Philip's lukewarmness, took matters into their own hand, and a little expedition set sail. Fitz-Maurice, Sanders, and their followers, landed at Dingle, in Kerry. It was supposed that Fitz-Maurice's presence would at once rouse the country to arms, and that Desmond would himself join them. But Desmond was afraid. It was only after his brothers had murdered two English officers at Tralee, an offence which he felt to be unpardonable, that he ventured to declare himself. Then all Kerry and Limerick flew to arms. The insurrection met with no great success. Drury was indeed driven backward to Kilmallock. But Malby, the other President, succeeded in killing Fitz-Maurice, and, seizing the command in Munster, burnt Ashketyn, the stronghold of the Desmonds. Had reinforcements been supplied, he would have been generally successful. But the Queen, taking fright as usual at the expense, counter-ordered the troops. The insurgents were able to take and burn Youghal and to march triumphantly as far as Cork.

Insurrection of Desmond. Aug.

At length, thoroughly awake to the danger, Elizabeth intrusted the war to Desmond's old enemy, Ormond. In conjunction with the English, he pushed on, destroying all before him (Jan. 1580). "We passed through the rebel countries," wrote the English commander, "in two companies, consuming with fire all habitations, and executing the people wherever we found them." The two bands subsequently joined. Carrigafoyle, the fort where the few foreigners whom Fitz-Maurice had brought with him had intrenched themselves, was taken, and every man put to death, the castle of Ashketyn itself blown up (April). By the 26th of June 1580, the country, thus ruthlessly destroyed, seemed reduced to peace. Ormond, in one year, is said to have killed 826 malefactors and 4000 other people. Sidney had withdrawn from the island just before the outbreak. His place was now (Aug.) taken by Lord Grey de Wilton, a man of stern Puritanic temper. He came only to find that the insurrection had broken out afresh within the Pale. His opening manœuvres were disastrous. His troops were entrapped and defeated, with heavy slaughter, at Glen Malure, in the Wicklow Mountains.

Shocked at the expense, at the cruelty, and at the want of complete success which had attended her vigorous efforts, Elizabeth seemed bent on falling back on a policy of conciliation, when the arrival of 800 men, Spaniards and Italians, from Spain, with the connivance at least of Philip, rendered a continuation of the war necessary. The effect of their arrival was to

Arrival of help from Spain. Sept.

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renew the insurrection in all directions, and yet, in fact, Sanders himself, the most sanguine adviser of the rebels, began to see that more effectual help from Spain could alone save them. The new arrivals fortified themselves at Smerwick, in Kerry. But they were unable to move further into the interior, from the utter devastation Ormond had caused in the province. Admiral Winter, with the fleet, closed them in from the sea, while Grey gradually brought his troops round them. A short bombardment reduced the garrison to parley. They were refused all terms, surrendered at discretion, and were every one of them put to death, 600 in all (November). This was a deathblow to the insurrection, though it lingered on amid scenes of cruelty and bloodshed for two years longer. In the Pale, Kildare, the natural leader of the Irish of that district, was apprehended, and his complicity in the insurrection proved. He was sent to England, and died in the Tower. Desmond, the head of the other branch of the Geraldines, after wandering for long an outcast in the forests, was betrayed by those with whom he had taken refuge, and killed as he lay in bed. The death of the old Earl of Clanrickard (Oct. 1583), and the murder of his son Shan by his brother, completed the extinction of the insurgent Burkes. By July 1584 English authority was quite re-established, and Sir John Perrot again took possession of the Government. As far then as Ireland was concerned, the attempt of the Catholics, as distinguished from the Catholic powers, though causing much disaster and bloodshed, had been ultimately foiled.

Destruction of the foreigners at Smerwick. Suppression of the insurrection.

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ELIZABETH

(CONTINUED).

ALMOST at the same time that Sanders had been despatched to Ireland, a young man of the name of Esmé Stuart,[1] Count d'Aubigny, was sent to Scotland. He was a close friend of the Guises, had been trained by them, and was the heir to the Lennox title. His ostensible reason for visiting Scotland was to regain his inheritance. He was in reality an agent of the Guises and of the Catholic party in Europe, and his appearance must be regarded as a second step in the general Catholic conspiracy against Elizabeth. His object was to resuscitate the old French party in Scotland. Should he succeed in restoring the influence of France, it was intended to organize an invasion of England, in which both French and Spanish should take part. The command of the army was to be intrusted to Guise, as the Frenchman least likely to be distasteful to Philip. In the first part of this scheme he was eminently successful. He received the Earldom of Lennox (Feb. 1580), the better to serve his purpose professed to become a Protestant, and speedily ingratiated himself with the King. Though ignorant of the full scope of Lennox's plans, the great credit he had rapidly gained, and his rapid elevation to power, seemed so threatening that Elizabeth attempted again to call into existence the English party she had so foolishly suffered to be destroyed. But she had played fast and loose with her friends too often to be easily trusted. Morton required something more than a mere promise of assistance before he would attempt anything to regain his authority. While the Queen hesitated, the opportunity was gone. Lennox secured the execution of Morton on a charge of complicity in the murder of Darnley, which he could not completely deny. He was condemned and executed. With him the influence of the friends of England entirely disappeared, and in 1581 the Papal party was triumphant.

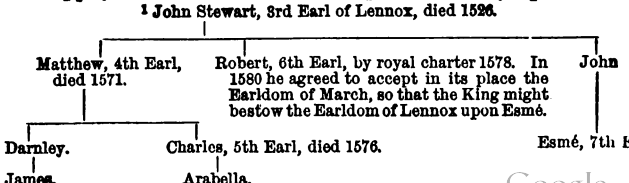
Jesuit plans in Scotland. 1579.

Partial success of Lennox.

Death of Morton.

The second part of the plan which had brought Lennox to Scotland was happily thwarted. Its success depended chiefly upon the assist-

[1] John Stewart, 3rd Earl of Lennox, died 1526.



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ance of Philip, and rested on the supposition that, for public objects, he would lay aside his dislike to France. He always disliked war, was very slow in taking action, and had his hands already full. For the royal house of Portugal, having become extinct, he was using all his energies to secure the dominion of the whole Peninsula. It was in vain that the advantages which he might derive from a marriage between James of Scotland and a Spanish Princess were pointed out to him, in vain that it was hinted that the triumph of the Guises might enable them, on the approaching extinction of the house of Valois, to make a partition of France, of which he should himself receive a share. He remained unmoved, and the expedition fell to the ground.

Failure of Lennox's plan.

But, though the worst intentions of the conspirators never saw the light, the restored influence of the Catholics in Scotland made itself sufficiently evident to Elizabeth. A plan was now suggested for re-establishing Mary in Scotland, and for making her restoration palatable to those who had hitherto been the King's friends, by associating her son in the Government. Elizabeth met the threatened combination with her usual dexterity. She discovered that James was not really inclined to admit his mother to the Government on these terms; and she opened a separate negotiation with Mary, who offered at length to accept any terms that could be suggested, and even in exchange for her liberty to remain under supervision in England. Elizabeth was thus able to hold the immediate return of the Queen as a threat over James, and to plead James's repugnance as a reason for not completing her treaty with Mary.

Intended joint rule of Mary and James.

But it was after all not her own skill, but a national outbreak, which saved Elizabeth from the effects of the Catholic reaction in Scotland; for a sudden change in the position of affairs there came to her assistance. The conspirators, as usual, had mistaken the feeling of the nobles for that of the nation. Lennox, as a preliminary step in the restoration of Catholicism, determined to render more real the shadow of Episcopacy which still existed in Scotland. The attempt brought him into violent collision with the General Assembly of the Kirk. The appointment of a minister to the vacant See of Glasgow led to the excommunication of the newly-made prelate, and to an uproar in Edinburgh (July 1582) which disclosed how deeply the Protestant feeling was rooted among the people. Taking advantage of this dispute, Lord Gowrie, who had a private quarrel with Lennox, in company with Angus, Lindsay,

Catholic reaction checked by the popular feelings.

Raid of Ruthven. Aug. 22.

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Mar, and others, determined to snatch the Government from Lennox. James was seized at Perth in August 1582, together with James Stuart, Earl of Arran, whose influence over the King was second only to that of Lennox. With the King in their hands, and with the plans of the Jesuits made known by the confession of Arran, the Lords applied to Elizabeth for assistance, and thus the plans of the Catholics with regard to Scotland were for the time thwarted. Elizabeth believed that she had been successful.

Jesuit schemes in England.

Meanwhile the same Catholic conspiracy had been at work in England. It had there naturally assumed a form at once religious and political. The more vehement Catholics had withdrawn from the country, on account of the dangers which there beset them. They had taken refuge in the Low Countries, and there Allen, one of the chief among them, had established a seminary at Douay, for the purpose of keeping up a supply of priests in England. To Douay numbers of young Englishmen from Oxford continually flocked. The establishment had been broken up by Requescens, and removed to Rheims, and a second college of the same description was established at Rome. From these two centres of intrigue numerous enthusiastic young men constantly repaired to England, and in the disguise of laymen carried on their priestly work and attempted to revive the Romanist religion. But abler and better disciplined workmen were now wanted. Allen and his friends therefore opened negotiations with Mercuriano, the head of the Jesuit order, in which many Englishmen had enrolled themselves. In 1580, as part of a great combined Catholic effort, a regular Jesuit mission, under two priests, Campion and Parsons, was despatched to England, to attempt there the same work which had been intrusted to Sanders in Ireland and to D'Aubigny in Scotland. As a preliminary step, one of the great difficulties which had beset the English Catholics was removed by a strange piece of double-dealing. A Bull of excommunication having been issued against Elizabeth, the devout Catholics were compelled to choose between disobedience to the Church and treason to the Queen. The new missionaries were allowed to say that that part of the Bull which pronounced censures upon those who clung to their allegiance applied to heretics only, that Catholics might profess themselves loyal until the time arrived for carrying the Bull into execution; in other words, they were permitted to be traitors at heart while declaring themselves loyal subjects.

This explanation of the Bull was of itself sufficient to justify severity on the part of Government. It was impossible henceforward to separate Roman Catholicism from disloyalty. Proclamations were issued,

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requiring English parents to summon their children from abroad, and declaring that to harbour Jesuit priests was to support rebels. At the same time, the Queen wrote a spirited address to her people, appealing to their loyalty against her enemies. Walsingham was at last allowed to enter upon a course of severity. Early in December several priests were apprehended and closely examined, torture being occasionally used for the purpose. In view of the danger which these examinations disclosed, stringent measures were taken. Attendance at church was rendered peremptorily necessary. Parliament was summoned in the beginning of 1581, and laws passed against the action of the Jesuits. A Bill was passed rendering it high treason to claim the power of absolving subjects from their allegiance, or to receive any person into the Church of Rome. The concealment of such persons was made misprision of high treason. Private masses were strictly forbidden, and a fine of £20 a month laid upon those who refused to attend the service of the Established Church. The effect of these laws was to draw a sharp line, which had hitherto been avoided, between the Catholic and Protestant populations; and a number of the older Catholics, who were loyal at heart, found themselves implicated against their will in treasonable plots, of which the Spanish ambassador Mendoza, whose protection they were compelled to seek, was the centre.

Severe laws against Catholics. 1581.

Had Elizabeth been conscious of the full extent of the plot against her, had she known the intention of the Guises to make a descent upon England in co-operation with Spain, and the many ramifications of the plot in her own country, it is reasonable to suppose that she would have been forced at length to take decided measures. But in ignorance of the abyss opening before her feet, she continued for some time longer her old temporizing policy. Relying upon the friendship of France, she refused to restore the money taken from Spanish ships by Drake, who had just returned from the circumnavigation of the world; she countenanced Don Antonio, who claimed the succession of Portugal in opposition to Philip; she even ventured—in reliance on the necessity under which France lay of seeking her friendship, in presence of the increased power of Spain, which had incorporated Portugal and defeated Don Antonio's French auxiliaries in the Azores—to break off the marriage treaty with Anjou, after carrying it to the verge of completion. To such a point had she carried her favour, that she dismissed the Prince, who had come to England as her suitor, with a kiss, a public pledge, as it were, of her intentions, when he left her to take possession of the Netherlands, which had placed themselves

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in his hands. She had thus in Scotland refused the friendship both of the Protestant and of the Catholic parties. She had insulted France by the rejection of Alençon. She had thrown away all chance of attaching the Netherlands to her cause. She had almost driven Philip, against his will, to listen to the strong wish of the Spanish nation, and to join the ranks of her enemies.

Isolation produced by Elizabeth's policy.

And all this while, without her knowledge, the most dangerous and complete scheme was on foot for deposing her. This scheme was finally arranged at Paris. King James of Scotland had escaped from his Protestant keepers (July 7, 1583), and had again made an offer of his kingdom as a landing-place for Guise. But the Duke had seen in Lennox's failure a proof of the strength of the Protestant party in that country. His ideas were now directed towards England itself. The Spanish ambassador had assured him that a certain number of the Catholic nobles were only waiting for help from abroad. The Jesuits spoke of the readiness of the people for insurrection. The agents of the Queen of Scots were constantly urging him forward. At a meeting held in Paris, he announced that he was ready, in combination with Duke Albert of Bavaria, and his brother, the Duke of Mayenne, to make the intended descent upon England. But here the strong Spanish leanings of the English Jesuits and English Catholics interfered. They insisted upon the King of Spain taking a prominent part in the movement. After some persuasion, Philip agreed that he would supply some portion of the invading troops. An army, collected in the Netherlands, was to join that of Guise, and under cover of the Spanish fleet to invade the country, when all was ready for their reception. But the fleet, which was a necessary part of the plan, was long in coming. Philip, as usual, was slow in action, and regarded the fullest preparation as necessary for success. By degrees Walsingham's spies began to give him information of the coming danger. A conspiracy for the assassination of the Queen was discovered (November), and, more important still, Thomas Throgmorton, who was thoroughly conversant with all the details of the great conspiracy, was observed frequently leaving the Spanish ambassador's house, and was arrested. His rooms were searched. Lists of the chief Catholic malcontents were discovered, and plans of the harbours best fitted for the landing of a foreign force. His more important papers he contrived to conceal, but he was not proof against the rack, and made a full confession of all that he knew. His confession did not save him; he was executed. But the whole scheme of conspiracy was now before Elizabeth's ministers,

Great general conspiracy against Elizabeth.

Arrest of Throgmorton. Discovery of the plot.

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and at last she recognized the full extent of her danger. Some of her Council urged her at once to take a straightforward step, to make common cause with the Protestants of Scotland and the Netherlands, and to bid defiance to Spain. To this honest step she as usual could not bring herself, but strong measures were taken in England. Great numbers of Jesuits and seminary priests were apprehended and executed, suspected magistrates removed, and those Catholic Lords, whose treachery might have been fatal to her, ejected from their places of authority and deprived of influence. Against the Spanish ambassador, too, her action was prompt. Mendoza was summoned before the Council, and ordered at once to leave the country. In vain he alleged his innocence and defied proof; he was obliged to go, and left England, vowing vengeance. The cessation of diplomatic relations between Spain and England rendered war sooner or later inevitable.

Dismissal of Mendoza. Breach with Spain. Jan. 1584.

Up till this time the Queen's policy, shifty, even treacherous as it had been, had been successful as far as England was concerned. Peace had been preserved, an economical Government had been carried on, and the wellbeing of the people secured. Disaffection had thus been gradually dying away, and the resources of the country to meet the inevitable crisis increasing. One chief means employed by the Queen in securing this happy result had been the position of Mary Queen of Scots. By playing the mother against the son, any active interference on the part of Scotland had been prevented, and the Catholic party in that country neutralized. At the same time the Catholics in England had been divided in their views. The old hereditary Catholics, for the most part loyal to England, were anxious for the restoration of Mary, and that she should be declared the Queen's successor, while the new Catholics, and those who were under Jesuit influence, wished for a more complete revolution, and that Mary, if restored at all, should be Queen only with Spanish assistance, and as the creature of Spain; while dread of Mary's restoration, and the consequent close connection of England and France, had been one of the chief causes which had kept Philip from entering more eagerly into the plans of the Catholics. The course of events was rapidly destroying the importance of Mary's life

Declining importance of Mary.

In Scotland, the success of the Protestants had been only temporary James had made his escape from their hands, and Angus and other o their leaders were in exile in England. At first, as has been mentioned James had written to place his kingdom at the disposal of the Guises, but before long other influences prevailed. On the flight of Lennox, James's favour had fallen upon Stuart, a man

Deserted by her son.

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whose views were confined to his own personal advantage; he had contrived to get possession of the property of the Hamiltons, with the title of the Earl of Arran, in the place of the imbecile heir of the Hamilton house, and he had also, on the flight of Angus with the Protestant Lords, obtained the patrimony of the Douglases. The restoration of Mary and the re-establishment of Protestantism would have been equally distasteful to him. The return of Mary must have brought with it the restoration of the Hamiltons, her most trusted supporters, and would consequently have deprived him of the Hamilton property. The restoration, on the other hand, of the Protestants, would have obliged him to restore to Angus the Douglas property. Understanding Elizabeth's character, he therefore devised a third plan, in which James was ready to join him. He induced the King, ignoring alike the claims of Catholics and Protestants, to assume in Scotland the same position as Elizabeth had assumed in England, and to establish a State church, of which he was the head, with Bishops and the rest of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. This measure was exceedingly pleasing to Elizabeth, and James, whose chief idea was to secure the English succession, when thus brought into friendship with Elizabeth, readily, upon the payment of a very moderate pension, gave up his mother's cause. In extreme anger at this desertion, Mary denounced her false son, and declared Philip of Spain the heir of her claims upon the the English crown. Fear of interference from Scotland being thus removed, and Mary having been clearly implicated in all the late conspiracies, she was removed to stricter confinement in Tutbury Castle, where, after a while, under the care of Sir Amyas Paulet, she was so rigorously watched that all communication with her friends was prevented.

Removal to Tutbury. Jan. 1585.

Meanwhile, the national feeling had been strongly roused by late events. It was plain that the idea of assassinating Elizabeth was very prevalent. It had all along been Alva's view, in which Philip seems to have shared, that a Spanish invasion would succeed best in the confusion that would follow the Queen's death. Somerville had been already executed for attempting it (October 1583), and now a Dr. Parry, instigated by Morgan, Mary's agent in Paris, came over with the same intention (January 1584). Moreover, the death of the Prince of Orange appeared to show a determination on the part of the Catholics to have recourse to assassination as a means to rid themselves of their enemies.

Fear of the Queen's assassination.

The great pacification of Ghent had in it from the first the seeds of weakness. It included the Catholic provinces of the South. Between them and the Protestants

Increased by affairs in Flanders.

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of Holland and Zeeland there could be no really cordial union. It was these Catholics who had harboured the futile idea of placing the States in the hands of Matthias of Austria. In that step, with true patriotism, Orange had concurred, rather than break up the union. But on its becoming evident that the Catholic States were ready to make terms with Spain to secure their own religion, he had, in 1579, made a closer union among the States more entirely under his influence, and the Union of Utrecht was formed between Holland, Zeeland, Gueldres, and Friesland, to which subsequently the great cities, Brussels, Antwerp, Bruges, Ypres, and Ghent, gave in their adhesion. Of this union, throwing aside the fiction under which he had hitherto acted as Stadtholder by the royal commission, Orange had assumed the title of Captain-General and Admiral. In September of the following year (1580) he had proceeded a step further. Philip was deposed from his position as Duke of Burgundy, and the independence of the States declared. Having thus broken loose from Spain, the States were compelled to look for another ruler, and had offered that position to the Duke of Anjou, with the title of Duke of Brabant. It was to assume the duties of that office that he had left England, after the Queen's kiss at Greenwich had given him hopes of being her accepted suitor. Being a man wholly unprincipled, desirous only of his own aggrandizement, and jealous of the Prince of Orange, he had betrayed the people he was called upon to govern, and had made an effort to capture with his French troops the chief cities. This attempt, carried out by the favour of the Catholic faction, was made in 1583. In some places it was successful. But in Antwerp, where the Prince in person made the attempt, it signally failed. When his troops entered the town, they found themselves attacked on all sides; 1600 men and more were killed in the streets, and Anjou, with the small remainder, fled in disgrace to France, where he died in the following year. His flight restored Orange to all his old importance, and left him free to carry on the war vigorously with the Prince of Parma, who was in command of the Spanish forces. A price had long been set on his head. Two or three attempts, in one of which he was desperately wounded, had already been made to assassinate him, and at length, in July 1584, Gerard succeeded in deserving the promised reward. Just as Orange was receiving news of Anjou's death, he shot him at his own house at Delft. His death raised the fear of the English that a similar fate awaited Elizabeth, and conscious of the terrible disorder that would arise on the sudden death of the Queen in the existing uncertainty as to the

Assassination of the Prince of Orange. July 9, 1584.

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succession, the Council and chief nobles in England drew up a Bond of Association, in which they pledged themselves to prosecute with arms "all who should attempt any act or counsel to the harm of the Queen's person, and to prosecute to the death any pretended successor" in favour of whose title such an attempt should be made. The Association received almost unanimous adhesion; Protestants and Catholics alike joined it; even the Scotch Queen herself signed it. To complete this Association, which in appearance set aside the usual course of law, it was determined to give it the sanction of Parliament, which was summoned for that purpose in November 1584; and with some slight alterations it was incorporated in a Bill, securing the safety of the Queen.

Association to protect the Queen's life.

Again, after the breach with Spain, and secure on the side of Scotland, an opportunity was offered to Elizabeth for openly adopting the cause of the Netherlands and the Protestants in France; again the opportunity was allowed to slip, and a fresh course of double-dealing was entered upon. Having lost both Alençon and Orange, the States offered themselves to Elizabeth. Being refused by her, they applied to France. This application, accepted fully, would have brought back the old danger of a junction of France and the Netherlands, which it was supposed that England would not allow. But Elizabeth was now anxious that the war against Spain should be undertaken, not by herself, but by the French. She therefore urged Henry to accept the proposition of the States, while at the same time she contrived to obtain a promise from her partisans among the Netherlanders that Brille and Flushing should be given up to her, and managed to introduce such conditions into the offer made to France as should make its acceptance by Henry useless. Her plan was, however, seen through, and defeated. Henry refused the sovereignty of the States (Feb. 1585), while almost at the same time Elizabeth's rejection of the demand for assistance from the Huguenots obliged him to yield to the Guises, and to put himself at the head of the League. While the States were thus left without assistance from either of the great powers, the Prince of Parma was constantly continuing his victorious course, and was using all his efforts at the great siege of Antwerp. In their extremity, the States refused to accept the Queen's late reply as final, and continued their application. To accept and annex the Provinces, to render them part of her dominions, was much too decided a step for Elizabeth to take. But she began to hint that she might either accept the position of Protector, or of friend and auxiliary, if first her position

In spite of herself Elizabeth is driven to assist the Netherlands.

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was rendered secure, and the return of the money she expended guaranteed by the possession of certain seaport towns, as Brille, Flushing and Enchuysen. She was hurried forward in this course by the action of Philip, who, aware of the point the negotiations had reached, was at last roused to strike a blow, and suddenly issued an order for detaining all English ships in Spanish harbours, and imprisoning their crews (May 29). This was just one of those blows which make themselves felt most clearly by the people rather than by the Government, and was especially irritating, as the ships had been chiefly sent to supply Spain with corn during a time of scarcity. The popular feeling against Spain, and the wish to engage in the long-threatened war with that country, grew rapidly more vehement. The crisis seemed to be hastening onward. The Queen agreed to accept the Protectorate of the States, promising to make no truce with their joint enemies without consent of the States-General. But her heart failed her, and she preferred finally to assume only the position of a friend. On the 12th of August, a treaty was made to assist in the defence of Antwerp, which shortly afterwards ripened into a more general treaty, in which she pledged herself to keep at her own cost 4000 men till the close of the war, receiving as guarantees the towns of Brille, Flushing and Ramequens.

So eager were the people, and so ready from their constant militia training to take arms, that in a few days 7000 men sailed. Their arrival (Jan. 1586) was too late to save Antwerp, nor did the joy with which they were received by the Netherlanders last long. Leicester, an incompetent general, was appointed to command them; no money was sent to support them, and it was with ill-concealed displeasure that the well-appointed troops of the States surrendered the cautionary towns to be garrisoned by the ragged and hungry English regiments. It was not long before it became known that, even when thus at length driven to energetic action, Elizabeth was secretly negotiating with the Spaniards. She meant to use the towns which were in her hands to make herself mistress of the position, and to enable her to treat authoritatively with both parties. It was for this reason that Leicester, and no abler soldier, had been sent in command, and that the English troops were constantly ordered to remain entirely on the defensive. Norris, one of the commanders, was, in fact, severely chidden for acting with some vigour. With this scheme in her mind, the Queen's anger was naturally great when she heard that Leicester, misunderstanding her designs, or wishing to pursue a more honest course, had assumed in her name the

She secretly negotiates with the Spaniards.

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government of the States (Feb. 1586). It was in vain that it was urged upon Elizabeth that the States were without government, and that to prevent entire anarchy Leicester's step was necessary. She at first demanded an entire and public renunciation of his governorship; but was at length satisfied with demanding that the States should, as quickly as possible, find means of relieving him of his authority, allowing him only the position of Lieutenant-General to the Queen. At length he seems to have understood her views. He remained inactive, while Parma continued his victorious career. When some little action became necessary to keep up appearances, he attempted to recover Zutphen, a fortress upon the Issel, which had been one of Parma's latest conquests. The town was ill supplied with provisions, and Parma advanced with a convoy to its relief. His army was inferior in numbers to Leicester's. But that general, conceiving that only a small guard would attend the convoy, placed his own forces where they could be of no use, and sent an ambuscade of only 500 men to stop the advance of Parma. After a splendid but ineffectual contest with the Spanish cavalry, it became evident that Parma had his whole army with him. The English troops had to withdraw, and Zutphen was relieved (Oct. 2). The great loss of the English in the battle was Sir Philip Sidney, a man regarded both in England and abroad as the type of what a chivalrous gentleman should be. After this useless display of bravery, Leicester returned to England, leaving the government in the hands of the States, while the English army continued to dwindle, in want of all the necessaries which the parsimony or policy of the Queen refused to supply.

Consequent uselessness of the English help.

As usual, the independent energy of her people was thwarting the political activity of the Queen. Drake had sailed with a considerable armament to demand the restoration of the captive sailors. His expedition was not, as regards spoil, so successful as the last. But the appearance of the English commander on the coast of Spain itself, the plunder of the town of Vigo, and the subsequent attack and storm of three strong cities in the West Indies (Sept.-Nov. 1585), St. Iago, St. Domingo, and Carthagena, tended much to raise the opinion of the English power, and rendered negotiations with Spain much more difficult.

Drake's energy thwarts her double-dealing.

While the nation was thus ostensibly at war with Spain, and the Queen secretly negotiating a peace with that country, it had become necessary to discover clearly, before any determined action was taken, what was the real design of

Walsingham's spies discover the Babington plot.

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the Catholic party in Europe. For this purpose Walsingham had contrived to open a means of communication between Mary Queen of Scots and her foreign adherents. He had removed Mary from the well-guarded castle of Tutbury to the more open manor of Chartley (Sept. 1585). By corrupting the brewer who supplied the household with beer, he induced him to receive Mary's letters, which, before they passed to their several destinations, were opened and read by Walsingham and his agents. Not much certain knowledge with regard to the general action of the party was gained, but a plot came to light directed against the Queen's life. Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of Derbyshire, had been from the first closely attached to the Jesuits. Apparently at the instigation of Ballard, a Jesuit, who had obtained the Papal sanction for the Queen's murder, and had travelled through England in disguise organizing disaffection, Babington and a party of young gentlemen, some of whom were in the household, determined to put the Queen to death. This plan they foolishly made known to Queen Mary. In her answer to Babington, written not in her own hand but by her secretaries, she accepted his offer. "When all is ready," she wrote, "the six gentlemen must be set to work." Sufficient evidence was now collected for Walsingham's purpose. Babington and the chief conspirators were apprehended (August), and an account of the plot published, which roused the popular excitement in the highest degree. It was thought necessary, in order to complete the charge against Mary, that all her papers should be examined. While still in ignorance of the discovery of the plot, she was therefore taken out on a hunting party, suddenly surrounded by troops, and while her two secretaries who were with her were arrested, was hurried herself to the castle of Fotheringay. Such proofs as were afforded by her letters, when they were carefully examined, and those which had fallen lately into Walsingham's hands, together with the confessions of her secretaries and of Babington, who with his accomplices had been executed (Sept. 20), were laid before the Peers and Judges in October. By them it was decided that the Queen of Scots must be brought to trial, and a Commission, including all the Peers that could be collected, was issued, constituting them into a court to sit at Fotheringay and try her. She at first refused to plead; but subsequently made her appearance before the Court under protest, and there denied absolutely all knowledge of Babington, of his letter, and of her answer to it. It was in vain that Babington's letter was produced, and finally her own letter also. The letter, not being in her

Mary removed to Fotheringay.

Her trial. Oct. 1586.

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own writing, she threw the blame of it entirely on her secretaries, and demanded to be confronted with them. The Commission was adjourned for ten days before giving sentence. The two secretaries were again examined; and finally every one of the commissioners, some of whom had hitherto been favourable to her, gave their sentence against her, finding her not only guilty of a knowledge of a general conspiracy, including a Spanish invasion, but also of aiming at the assassination of the Queen. Mary had thus been convicted. It was still to be determined what further step should be taken. The importance of the occasion demanded that Parliament should be summoned. It was opened in the beginning of November, and before long an address determined on, recapitulating the crimes of the Queen and demanding her immediate death. This request was supported by the argument that the Queen of Scots, having joined the Association, had passed her own sentence.

The Queen's hesitation and its causes.

It was no easy matter for Elizabeth to decide on carrying out the request of the Parliament. There is no need to suppose that her hesitation was hypocritical. It is of course impossible to believe that she had any personal tenderness for the Scotch Queen. The correspondence lately laid before her, disclosing as it did Mary's constant enmity to herself, must have removed any such feeling. But to lay hands upon a Queen was to one so tenacious of the royal prerogative as Elizabeth in itself most repugnant; and, as has been already mentioned, though Mary, while she lived, had formed a centre for all Catholic conspiracies, she had yet been very useful in enabling Elizabeth to carry out a policy which depended upon the jealousy of the Catholic powers of Europe. To put her to death was equivalent to joining finally with the Protestant interest, and to challenge at once Scotland, France and Spain. To her Protestant counsellors, on the other hand, it seemed as if the desired moment had arrived. James's late indifference to his mother's cause, his well-known selfishness, and the lukewarmness of his present behaviour, led them to expect little interference at his hands. The state of France rendered it highly improbable that that country would proceed beyond formal protests and intercessions, for the King, a weak and licentious bigot, surrounded by worthless favourites, could scarcely uphold his independence against the League now in close alliance with Spain. To have come prominently forward in the cause of Catholicism would have been to place himself in the hands of Guise, whom he regarded as his worst enemy. It was impossible for him to break with Eng-

Determination of her counsellors and its causes.

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land. It was therefore with Spain alone they would have to deal. That country they did not fear. An open war abroad, and fixed policy at home, was preferable to the constant secret disaffection and shifting diplomacy of late years. To the great bulk of the nation also the execution appeared a necessity. The threat of foreign invasion, the danger of too close a connection with Spain, which was rendered likely by the advance of Philip's personal claims to the throne, had rendered most of the more moderate Catholics loyal. The Queen was very popular. The danger of assassination, which was supposed to hang over her, roused the enthusiasm of the people. The discovery of the underhand working of the extreme Catholics filled the Protestant population with undefined and exaggerated dread. It seemed not improbable that the animosity of parties might produce public disturbances or even civil war.

The popular feeling.

Much pressure was therefore brought upon the Queen to induce her to consent to Mary's death. She at length listened to the earnest representations of Lord Howard of Effingham, who brought before her the dangerous temper of the nation, and consented to allow the Secretary Davison to bring the warrant. She signed it, and bade him get it sealed at once that she might hear no more of it. At the same time, she expressed her wish that Sir Amyas Paulet and Sir Drew Drury would act on their own authority, and put Mary to death. This was in precise accordance with her old habit of throwing upon her servants the difficult duties she should have done herself. Davison suggested this plan to Paulet, urging his consent as a member of the Association. But the Act incorporating the Association had made the personal instruction of the Queen necessary before private action in her favour could be taken. Paulet therefore refused. Davison, who from the Queen's conduct felt it probable that she would afterwards repudiate him, placed the case before the Council. They determined to take the responsibility upon themselves, and the warrant was issued. Mary, whose life had been one long piece of acting, performed her part to the last with perfect success and dignity. She assumed the character of a martyr, and declared that she died entirely for the sake of her religion, ignoring the many political crimes of which she had been guilty. Her death was as touching as the most complete assumption of innocence could make it. With the grace and tenderness of which she was a perfect mistress, she bade farewell to her friends and attendants, and, mindful of her appearance even to

The warrant signed. Feb. 11.

The Council act on it. Feb. 13.

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the end, appeared on the scaffold, which was erected in the hall of Fotheringay, in a full costume of scarlet, and with calm dignity received the fatal stroke of the axe.

Mary's death. Feb. 18, 1587.

She left her claim upon the English throne to Philip, who had already determined that upon that ground only would he risk the dangers of an assault upon England. The excitement throughout Europe at her death was great. Abroad, its full meaning as a declaration in favour of Protestantism was fully understood. The Queen, alarmed at what she had done, pursued her usual equivocal course, and expressed the strongest anger both against Davison and Burghley. To such extremes did she carry her anger, that she insisted upon the trial of Davison, and it was found expedient to dismiss him from the public service and condemn him to the payment of a large fine. Such conduct on the part of the Queen, and the excuses which she made to foreign courts, would scarcely have been sufficient to save her from the danger she dreaded, had not the political situation of Europe acted in her favour. Henry III., as we have seen, in his struggle with the Guises could not afford to quarrel with her, and the very step which Queen Mary had taken to secure the intervention of Spain still further weakened the chances of general Catholic action. Philip resolved to prosecute his own claim to the English throne. In so doing, he at once alienated the Scotch King, who regarded the succession as his own, and excited the jealousy of all in France who were not closely bound to the Guise party, and therefore to the Spanish interests. As it was, the excitement caused by Mary's death brought matters abroad to a crisis. The Huguenots again organized themselves in rebellion. The Protestant Princes of Germany joined their League; and while Henry of Navarre raised the South of France, a considerable German army crossed the frontier to co-operate with him. Henry III. was obliged to use some means for the suppression of this insurrection. But his action was so lukewarm that the Catholics declared he had wilfully suffered his sister-in-law to be put to death. Guise, making use of this feeling, was enabled to rouse the organization of the League to fresh vigour. Though Henry of Navarre won a great victory over the royal troops at Courtras, he suffered the opportunity to slip, while Guise contrived to hamper, and ultimately destroy, the army of the German invaders, and, in spite of the King's prohibition, made his appearance in Paris, where he was received in triumph by the people. An attempt on the part of Henry III to

The Queen's anger.

The state of Europe neutralizes the effect of the execution.

Day of the Barricades in France. May 12, 1588.

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overawe the populace by the introduction of troops, caused a general outbreak of the mob. Barricades sprang up at every street corner. Henry III. was obliged to fly from the city, and Guise and the Catholics were masters of France. But this success, which, had it occurred earlier, might have rendered the Spanish invasion irresistible, did not take place till Philip's great effort had been made and failed.

Philip's preparations for invasion.

Ever since Elizabeth had been acting in open hostility to him Philip had been preparing for his enterprise. A great fleet had been gradually formed in Cadiz. Drake had undertaken an expedition against it in April, and his success had necessitated the postponement of the invasion, but even then it was expected to take place at the end of the year 1587. Strangely, throughout these years, Elizabeth was still negotiating with Spain, was still attempting to bring about a peace at the expense of the States of the Netherlands. The Prince of Parma, indeed, who knew better than most men the condition of England, and the amount of preparation which for several years had been carried on there, urged his master even yet to attempt a peaceful solution of the question. But now that the course was clear for his own succession to the country, Philip was obstinately determined to continue his plans. Parma's army was to be joined by a considerable force from Spain, and the seas guarded by the Spanish fleet under Santa Cruz. With this determination fixed in his mind, Philip only negotiated with Elizabeth to gain time. The treaty which was set on foot came to an end. But, as so frequently happened in the affairs of Spain, when the appointed time arrived, the army of invasion was not ready. The death of Santa Cruz was also a cause of delay. A far inferior commander, Medina Sidonia, was appointed in his place, but it was found too late to hazard the invasion till the next year.

The delay was invaluable to England. The English navy was not then, as now, a permanent establishment. There were very few royal ships, merchant vessels being taken up and employed for special service when required. Even such royal ships as there were were seldom put in commission, such was the parsimony of Elizabeth. Moreover, all through the year 1587, the Queen was still determined to believe in the possibility of peace. After Drake's return from Cadiz many of his ships were paid off, and, had the Armada sailed, as intended, that year, England would have been found quite unprepared. Even as it was, the Queen's extreme avarice went near to ruin the country. When all hope of peace had disappeared, provisions

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and ammunition were still dealt out with so sparing a hand, that the crews of the fleet at Plymouth must have been discharged had it not been for the personal exertions of Howard and the Admirals serving under him. The postponement of the expedition gave time to re-establish in some degree the fleet; and the royal ships, supported by numerous merchantmen, and by the vessels of the privateers, who willingly crowded round Drake, their old commander, were stationed in considerable numbers under Lord Howard and Drake himself, at Plymouth, and under Lord Henry Seymour in the Straits. The ships which they had to command were all of them very small; the largest were four or five new royal ships which had lately been added to the navy. For, since the year 1583, careful superintendence had been kept up over the fleet, and one new ship at least each year had been built. The largest ship in the whole fleet, however, the 'Triumph,' was but of one thousand tons. Though thus small, the ships were remarkably efficient; not only were they good sea boats, but Sir John Hawkins, having had the superintendence of the navy, had introduced a new sort of construction. He had lowered the castle-like buildings which had hitherto overloaded both bow and stern, and the vessels built on his plan far more nearly resembled modern vessels than those previously used, and were proportionately more rapid in their sailing.

English preparations of defence.

The delay in the starting of the Armada, which had allowed the English fleet to be collected, had it continued long would have caused its ruin. Want of supplies was rapidly threatening the crews with destruction; and it was with extreme delight that news was received on the 29th of July (according to the present reckoning) that the Armada was entering the Channel. It had set sail in May, had been dispersed by the weather, and again collecting in the Bay of Ferrol, had finally left Spain on the 22nd of July. The vast fleet consisted of six great squadrons—129 ships in all. Of these, 65 were large galleons, 7 of which were larger than the 'Triumph,' and the smallest larger than any English ship, with the exception of the five late additions to the navy. The other vessels were four great galleasses, rowed by 300 slaves each, four large galleys, 56 armed merchantmen, and 20 attendant small vessels. They were manned by 8000 men, and had on board upwards of 19,000 soldiers. It was only by skill that the English fleet, inferior both in size and numbers, could hope to defeat this vast army. This skill they were enabled to use to the full, for the great Spanish ships, carrying but little sail in comparison with their size, were all slow sailers, and very

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difficult to work to windward. Moreover, their cannon, though superior in number and in size, were badly supplied with ammunition (but fifty rounds of shot for each gun being on board), and were very slowly worked compared to the English cannon; while the crowded state of the lower decks, filled with soldiers, rendered every shot of the English doubly fatal. The contest which ensued was such as was rendered necessary by the peculiarities of the two fleets. It resolved itself into a running fight of many days' duration. The English, afraid of coming to close quarters, made use of their superior skill in manœuvring, and hung upon the rear of the Spanish fleet, approaching boldly to within close cannon shot, sailing to and fro the length of the line, firing upon each vessel as they passed it, while all attempts on the part of the Spaniards to close were at once eluded. Thus harassed with constant loss of men, and of such vessels as accident obliged to fall behind the general mass of the fleet, the Armada passed slowly onwards, daily becoming more and more afraid of their agile enemies, and less hopeful of being able to perform the part assigned them in covering the descent of Parma. At length the Spaniards rested a while in Calais harbour. The English loss had been little or nothing; and by using the ammunition found in vessels which had been captured, and by husbanding the wretched scanty supply furnished by Government, they were still in a position to continue the fight a little longer. But they dreaded lest delay, by obliging them to exhaust their food, should after all be fatal to them. It was necessary to drive the Spaniards again to sea. For this purpose fire-ships were sent into Calais harbour. In dread of this new instrument of offence, the Spaniards slipped their cables and passed onwards towards the Straits, and on the morning of the 8th of August found themselves in scattered confusion off the coast of Holland, opposite Gravelines. They were there attacked by Seymour, Drake, and Winter, all hope of return to Calais was cut off from them, and they were driven slowly towards the coast of Flanders. The fire from the English ships was terrible and well sustained when at short distances. The great Spanish ships, heeling over to the wind, offered an easy aim to the English gunners, while their own shot flew harmlessly over the heads of the Englishmen. Ship after ship sank or fled to the shore. It was only the entire want of ammunition which obliged the English to desist before they completely annihilated the enemy. 4000 men had been lost to the Spaniards. The number of wounded is not known, but as the wooden beams which had been erected to secure the soldiery were torn to splinters by the English shot, it must have been immense. Though

Destruction of the Armada.

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still very formidable, the spirits of the Spaniards were broken by their disasters, and Medina Sidonia, giving up all thoughts of either returning to the Channel or of assisting Parma, determined to fly round the north of Scotland, and thus to return to Spain. Though rendered almost useless for offence by want of ammunition, the English ships pursued them till they saw them fairly past the Forth. Then leaving them to the mercy of the weather, which had become tempestuous, they returned to England. It was in wretched plight that they came back. The miserable supplies which Elizabeth had alone allowed to be sent them had produced all sorts of diseases; and thousands of the crew came from their great victory only to die.

The victory a national one.

If ever a nation was saved by its people in spite of the faults of its Government it was England at this time. While the Queen was treating with Spain, the temper of the nation had risen. In the midst of privation, and wanting in all the necessaries of life, the sailors had fought with unflagging energy, with their wages unpaid, with ammunition supplied them with so stingy a hand that each shot sent on board was registered and accounted for, with provisions withheld so that the food of four men had habitually to be divided among six, and that food so bad as in some instances to be really poisonous, without even the hope of prize money, for in their zeal they had refused to take prizes. The enthusiasm had been felt not by the Protestants nor by the lower classes alone. Philip's political blunder in thinking to acquire England for himself had roused the national feeling even of the Catholics, and members of all the older Catholic houses thronged as volunteers to the fleet. While the danger was thus happily averted by the gallantry of the sailors, preparations had been carried on with vigour on shore. For several years, in expectation of what had now happened, the musters of the counties had been regularly drilled. An army of 30,000 was easily raised in the midland counties, and 16,000 had been assembled at Tilbury to defend London. Even at this crisis Elizabeth had shown her usual perverse favouritism, and selected as General-in-chief Leicester, discredited as he was by the incapacity he had shown in the Netherlands. On this occasion, however, he was not found wanting, and vigorously discharged the duties imposed upon him. A few days after the defeat of the Armada, when the Queen held a triumphant review of the troops at Tilbury, a fresh honour was in preparation for him, and he would have been raised to the rank of Lord-Lieutenant of England and Ireland had he not almost immediately died.

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The fourteen remaining years of Elizabeth's reign differ in interest from those which precede them. Duplicity, the weapon of the weak, was no longer necessary. Yet the policy of Elizabeth in her triumph was little more open or straightforward than in the days of her danger. For ten years the same minister directed it, and the character of the Queen was too strong not to make itself felt under all circumstances. The same want of straightforwardness, the same indecision and penuriousness are obvious in her foreign relations; the same assertion of prerogative at home, the same determination to establish her anomalous Church, and the same tendency towards favouritism.

Characteristics of the rest of the reign.

The new position assumed by England is prominently marked in her dealings with Spain. In spite of the parsimonious hand with which the Queen had supplied her navy, the defeat of the Armada had entailed large expenses. These had at once to be met. The merchants were ordered to subscribe according to their supposed wealth, and privy seals were sent to the Lords-Lieutenant of the counties. In March of the following year, Parliament assembled and granted a liberal supply, but they accompanied the grant with the request that the Queen would no longer await the assaults of Spain, but carry the war into Philip's own country. Though the Commons had been liberal, the Queen asserted her inability to undertake such an expedition. She would give assistance, but her subjects must do the work themselves. On these terms Norris and Drake, with a few Queen's ships and a number of private adventurers, set sail for Spain. This was the first of a series of expeditions which year by year went out from England. The tables were completely turned. The English, who had so long feared invasion, were now invariably the attacking party. Though, with the exception of the attack on Cadiz by Essex in 1596, none of these expeditions produced great results, they taught the English to believe in the weakness of Spain, and removed for ever any dread of that nation. The first expedition was nominally in support of the claims of Don Antonio, the Prior of Crato, to the Portuguese throne. There were no signs of any rising in his favour. The English were unable to conquer Lisbon, and the expedition returned, having on the way out done considerable damage at Corunna, and stormed Vigo on its return.

Increased demands of the people.

Yearly expeditions against Spain.

But the success of these expeditions was the less important, because the battle-ground between the Protestant and Catholic religions had been changed. The destruction of the Armada had in fact definitely

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settled the claims of Spain upon England, and determined once for all the religion of the latter country. In the Netherlands the division between the Northern and Southern Provinces had become complete. Under the leadership of Prince Maurice of Nassau, the Protestant community had in fact established their independent position. Their fleets were able to attack and defeat the Spaniards upon the sea, and their merchants were already disputing the wealth of the East Indies. There was no chance of their being again subjugated to the Spanish crown; although the war was continued, the real question was fought out. It was thus in France chiefly that the contest between the religions had now to be decided. After the Day of the Barricades, Henry III. was compelled to feign friendship with the Guises. The League was pledged to prevent the accession of a Protestant to the throne, and it was the intention probably of the Duke of Guise himself to receive the crown as a gift from the people upon the approaching extinction of the House of Valois, or even to forestall that crisis by the deposition of Henry. With deep hatred hidden beneath this show of friendship, Henry summoned the States-General at Blois (Dec. 3, 1588), and there caused the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of the same name to be murdered, hoping by that means to destroy the power of the League. The hope was a vain one. Catholic France at once burst into insurrection. Guise's brother, the Duke of Mayenne, took command of the army of the League, and Henry had no resource but to betake himself to the camp of the King of Navarre, who had hitherto been regarded as a rebel. The two Kings advanced to the siege of Paris. While lying before that city, Henry III. was murdered by Jacques Clement (Aug. 1, 1589), a monk inspired by the deadly hatred which the Catholics felt against the King, who seemed thus to have deserted them. The question of the succession to the throne was thus opened. The moment had now arrived for the Guise party to put into execution their plan of seizing the crown. But Mayenne missed the opportunity, and made the mistake of placing the crown on the head of the Cardinal de Bourbon,[1] under the title of Charles X., thus acknowledging the legitimacy of the Bourbon claim, and making the exclusion of Henry of Navarre depend solely on his religion. That Prince at once assumed the title of Henry IV. The position of affairs in France was now strange. The Catholic party had become the upholders of popular rights, the Catholic populace of Paris were even longing for a republic. The Protestants, whose whole system of Church govern-

War of religions transferred to France.

Accession of Henry IV.

[1] See page 501.

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ment was republican, were upholding the cause of legitimacy. In this false position of the two parties lay the seeds of a final compromise. Henry of Navarre was exactly the man to render such a compromise possible. Like Elizabeth, he was careless of religion, and a politician. The throne of France and the unity and power of the nation under his rule were the objects of his ambition, and he recognized from the first that the possession of the crown depended on the possession of Paris, the possession of Paris upon his changing his religious creed, and the unity of France politically upon the open toleration of religious diversities. But he also knew that an immediate change of religion would be too obvious a piece of time-serving to answer his purpose. To cover it, time and, if possible, some success in arms were necessary. Issuing, therefore, a most conciliatory proclamation, hinting the possibility of his ultimate conversion, he determined to support the cause of legitimate royalty. In his ambiguous position he required some external help; the similarity of their feelings and circumstances rendered it almost necessary for Elizabeth to assist him, and year by year troops were sent over for the purpose. The success which Henry wanted attended his arms. In 1589, at Arques, near Dieppe, and again at Ivry, in 1590, he was victorious over the Leaguers; while the open intervention of Philip II. in the quarrel, and the suggestion that his own daughter should be raised to the throne of France, brought the national feeling more and more to the side of Henry. Still Paris would not give in. Its faubourgs were taken and pillaged. It bore a siege, in which the people were reduced to the last extremities, and it was rescued only by the advance of the Spaniards from the Netherlands. At last, in 1593, when enough had been done for honour, Henry recognized the necessity of changing his religion. One by one the provinces accepted his authority, and at length, in March 1594, he entered Paris as King. His triumph was followed by an open war with Spain. For three years it lasted, during which, in 1596, the Archduke Albert, who had succeeded Parma in the Netherlands, took possession of Calais, and afterwards of Amiens. Want of money was telling on both sides, and when Henry was able to treat with honour, upon the recapture of Amiens in 1598, peace was at once set on foot, and the Treaty of Vervins concluded, followed by the declaration of the Edict of Nantes, granting toleration to the Protestants.

He becomes Catholic.

Final compromise. Treaty of Vervins. Edict of Nantes.

Constantly during this period Henry received assistance from Elizabeth, doled out in the old niggardly manner, while haggling

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bargains were made for the repayment of expenses, and the frank action of the troops was checked by orders confining them to the defensive. But Elizabeth had found her match. If she was stingy in granting help, Henry, on his part, was absolutely careless as to the performance of his part of the bargain. He knew, in fact, that Elizabeth could not afford to desert him. The Spanish King was laying claim for his daughter to Brittany as a female fief. That the seaport towns should be in possession of Philip, England could not tolerate; and to support Henry was in fact to carry on war cheaply against Spain. However, though the English troops did occasionally good service, their operations were chiefly confined to Normandy and Brittany. Henry's conversion to Roman Catholicism drew forth a dignified protest from Elizabeth, or rather from Burghley;[1] but there was too much in common, both in the views and interests of the two princes, to allow of a permanent coolness between them. Indeed, the open declaration of war against Spain on the part of Henry in 1595, and the capture of Calais by the Archduke Albert, drove Elizabeth to make a formal treaty of alliance with the French, by which 4000 men (a number afterwards changed to 2000) were to serve in France. Neither party was to make peace without the consent of the other. Henry's ambassadors introduced a skilfully-worded clause which enabled him to evade this condition, and the English Queen's influence, backed by that of the States of the Netherlands, was not sufficient to prevent Henry from concluding peace in the year 1598.

Part played by England in this war.

While thus, in her foreign policy, Elizabeth pursued the same half-hearted course as had marked her whole career, at home, freed from the dangers which had hitherto acted as a restraint upon her, she exhibited her old peculiarities still more markedly. The parsimony of which she had always made so great a point, and which had in fact enabled her to gain much popularity by rendering taxes unnecessary, now grew into avarice. Sure of her people, and trusting to her success, her demands from her Parliament became large. Her arbitrary temper, like her love of money, increased from freedom of restraint. Her Parliaments, of which four were summoned after the defeat of the Armada, were treated with but little respect. Elizabeth always had the wisdom to see when it was necessary to yield, and her graceful retreat before the attacks of the Commons on the subject of monopolies will be mentioned in its place. But usually the Parliament was kept most strictly to the discussion of those points for which it had been sum-

Elizabeth's arbitrary conduct to her Parliament.

[1] Cecil had become Lord Burghley in 1572.

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moned, and whenever the Puritan party, which grew daily stronger, ventured to touch the immunities or conduct of the clergy, the Queen's vengeance was certain to fall upon the offenders. Thus, in 1593, when one Mr. Maurice brought in a motion for restricting the encroachments of ecclesiastical courts, the Speaker refused to put the question till he had talked the matter over with the Queen. Maurice was taken into custody, and forbidden again to take his seat in Parliament. In fact, her view of the position of the Commons is fairly represented by her answer, when the Speaker of the same Parliament demanded as usual liberty of speech. She replied that liberty they should have, but that the liberty consisted in the privilege of saying Yes and No.

But it was in her government of the Church that Elizabeth's arbitrary temper was most shown. From the very first she had been tenacious of her supremacy in matters ecclesiastical, and had insisted with a high hand upon the maintenance of her peculiar views. On her accession, the Catholics were numerically by far the stronger party in England. But as her circumstances forced her to separate from the Church of Rome, she conceived that a church as nearly resembling the old Church as possible would be the most readily accepted by her people. She wished to be able to say to the Catholic powers that she was no heretic, but in all respects, except the acknowledgment of the Pope's supremacy, a Catholic. Her wisest counsellors saw more clearly that such a half measure would be useless, and that her real support was the earnest zeal of the Puritan minority. In many respects, therefore, the Church became distinctly Protestant. The new Bishops were principally drawn from those who had learnt their Protestantism abroad. The livings made vacant by the Act of Uniformity were filled with Puritan divines. But Elizabeth, unable to sympathise with strong religious conviction, and taking an exclusively political view of the matter, thought it the duty of good subjects to conform to the State Church, and to be satisfied if they were left free to believe as they liked in their own minds. Any attempt to differ externally from the form established by law she regarded with extreme dislike. Her first Archbishop, Parker, entirely sympathized with her, and measures of coercion were very shortly taken against those Puritans who seemed determined to carry out their views in opposition to the Act of Uniformity. Thus, as already mentioned, many of the London clergy were suspended in the year 1565, and soon afterwards a Puritan meeting in

and in ecclesiastical matters.

Rise of the Puritans.

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Plummer's Hall was dissolved, and some of those present imprisoned. Up to this time the points at issue were rather matters of ceremonial, held by scrupulous consciences to involve principles, than any matter of doctrine or even of Church government. But the tendency of the more earnest and thinking Protestants towards Puritanism was constantly on the increase. The middle position occupied by the Church of England gave it of necessity the appearance of a political expedient. Nor did the Queen's language and conduct lead to any other conclusion. She constantly spoke of the Bishops with contempt, threatened to unfrock them at her pleasure, and evidently regarded them as creatures of her will. Their own conduct still further tended to lower the esteem in which they were held. It is evident from the constant complaints of the time that they used their offices very much as a means of making money. Pluralities were abundant, the old exactions of the ecclesiastical courts re-established, and the incomes to the sees forestalled. It does not as yet appear that any distinct assertion of the Divine origin of Episcopacy was made in the English Church. Hooker, whose great book on Ecclesiastical Polity is a defence of the English Church, distinctly rests the authority of the Bishops upon political grounds.

But meanwhile the Puritans, headed by Cartwright, Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, affronted by the persecution brought to bear upon them, and justly indignant at the abuses which existed in the Church, had already raised the claims of Presbyterianism as a Divine institution. Cartwright's "Admonition," published in 1572, contains language which seems to imply that the Church, formed upon a republican model, was superior to the State. The example of a completed Presbytery in Scotland gave evident proof that such a claim was the natural result of the system. The Presbyterian form of Church government had been established in that country in 1592; and by Melville and other leaders of the Kirk the right of interference in political matters, of personal rebuke of the sovereign, and of the exercise of a superior power to that of the temporal monarch, was openly asserted. At the same time the great mass of the Puritans, whatever their theory may have been, accepted the Queen's supremacy, repelled the charge of schism, and acknowledged the lawfulness of continuing in the Established Church.[1] There was indeed an extreme section, known by the name of the Brownists, who became afterwards Independents. All parties seem to have agreed that these men were fair objects of persecution. Many

[1] Hallam's *Const. Hist.* i. 213.

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of them were driven from the country, and some of them executed. The republican views held by the advanced Puritans with regard to Church government rendered them particularly distasteful to Elizabeth. During the struggle with the Catholic powers of Europe, she and her ministers were too conscious of the support she derived from them to proceed to extremities. During the archiepiscopacy of Grindal, himself inclined to Puritanism, they enjoyed a period of comparative rest; but upon his death he was succeeded by Whitgift, a man of a very different temper. In 1583, the Court of High Commission attained its full powers. It consisted of 44 members, 12 of whom were Bishops, and was invested with almost unlimited authority on the questions of Church government and discipline. Its proceedings were of a very arbitrary description. A person brought before them was cross-examined with extreme closeness, and compelled to give his answers upon oath, known as the *ex officio* oath. He was thus, in opposition to the principles of English law, compelled to convict himself. As Elizabeth gradually triumphed over her enemies, she ventured to carry out her own views of uniformity with greater strictness, and Whitgift, backed by the High Commission Court, began a persecution of the Puritans.

They are persecuted under Whitgift.

The Court of High Commission.

But it was not till after the defeat of the Armada that the Church of England asserted its highest pretensions. The support of the Protestants was no longer so necessary. Elizabeth had proved that in times of danger she could rely upon them. They now thwarted her views of her own ecclesiastical supremacy. Moreover, the spirit of the whole Church had become much modified. Forced by the action of Spain to become national, deprived by the death of Queen Mary of the hope of a Catholic successor, the Catholics now in large numbers entered the national Church. Believing in their hearts the old doctrines of Rome, it was natural that they should bring out, as far as possible, whatever remained Catholic, and that was much, in the forms and doctrines of the Church of England. Thus was formed the High Church party, and thus sprang up the idea of the Divine right of Episcopacy, which produced such fatal consequences in subsequent reigns. In her tenderness to her newly-converted subjects, less certain of their continued loyalty than of that of the well-tried Puritan party, the Queen allied herself with the High Church. The growth of this party, and the arbitrary conduct of the High Commission Court and the Bishops, naturally drove the Puritans to more organized opposition. In 1590,

Growth of the High Church party.

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under the guidance of Cartwright, associations were formed in different parts of England for the establishment of synods and classes, and all the apparatus of Presbyterianism. Summoned before the High Commission Court, the leaders refused to take the *ex officio* oath. The case was moved to the Star Chamber. But in spite of the clamours of the Church, the strength of the party was too great to admit of their punishment. They were discharged after having made an apology; the question was taken up in Parliament, but Elizabeth at once interfered, as before related. The war was then carried on in the press. Violent pamphlets were issued against the Church. The most vehement and successful were those signed Martin Mar-Prelate. For long the author evaded all attempts at discovery. A moveable press, from which the pamphlets issued, was shifted from place to place in times of danger. But at last, one Penry, a Welshman, was apprehended, tried as the author of the pamphlets, and executed. But no severity, no arbitrary suppression of public opinion, produced the desired effect. The close of the reign saw Puritanism more widely spread, and more eager in opposition than it had ever been before.

Final increase of Puritanism.

Thus, during Burghley's lifetime, the character of the Government, with the exception of such changes as were rendered almost inevitable by the fact that the Queen was now triumphant instead of in danger, continued the same. But it was not without difficulty that this prudent course was adhered to. One by one, shortly after the crisis of 1588, the old ministers, who had created and carried out the cautious policy of the reign, died. Sir Walter Mildmay died in 1589. Early in 1591, Walsingham and Randolph died; in the following year Sir Christopher Hatton, and two years after, Sussex and Lord Grey de Wilton. In their place there arose younger men, eager for a more vigorous exhibition of the strength of England. The chief of these were Raleigh and Essex. They both belonged rather to the courtier than to the statesman class, though Raleigh proved by his writings, as well as by his influence in Parliament, that he was not deficient in the qualities of a statesman. He owed his rise to the personal favour of the Queen. He was made Captain of the Guard, and sought to keep himself in favour by joining largely in the adventurous expeditions against the power of Spain, which were of constant occurrence. Thus, in 1592, he set on foot a great expedition, the command of which, however, he ultimately handed over to Sir Martin Frobisher, and in 1596 he sailed to Guiana, and explored

Death of the old ministers. Rise of young men of action.

Raleigh.

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400 miles of the Orinoco. Essex reached a position of much more importance. Very early he was distinguished by the favour of the Queen. Though only just of age at the time of the Armada, he was made Captain-General of the cavalry, under Leicester, and upon that nobleman's death succeeded to much of his personal influence with Elizabeth. His impetuous character made him despise the cautious policy of Burghley. He was unable to supplant that minister, whose influence was constantly paramount in all matters of real importance; but he hoped, no doubt, to succeed him as chief adviser to the Crown, to the exclusion of Robert Cecil, Burghley's son, who, trained in the prudent diplomacy of his father, became his chief rival. A constant advocate for war, it was with difficulty he could be made to adapt himself to the cautious policy of the Queen. Her favour, however, secured him the highest commands. To him were intrusted the armies sent to support Henry IV. The forced inactivity in which he was kept ill suited his temperament, nor did the Queen like his lengthened absence from her. In the following year he was recalled, without having had any opportunity of distinguishing himself. But some years after, in 1596, his warlike policy, backed as it was by Howard, the Lord-Admiral, was for a moment triumphant. In company with the Admiral he was sent in command of an expedition against Spain. The Spanish fleet was beaten and destroyed in the harbour of Cadiz; Essex rapidly landed his troops and reduced the town. But he was overruled when he wished to advance further into the heart of Spain; and, after two other slight successes, the expedition returned to England. As it was, it inflicted the greatest blow which Philip had yet received, and roused him to adopt a firmer line of action in the following years. On his return, Essex was not received with the enthusiasm he expected. The Cecils charged him with wilful extravagance, a point on which the Queen always felt strongly. For some time he was in disgrace, but ultimately succeeded in establishing his innocence, and was victorious over the Cecils. In the following year he was again sent to Spain, where Philip was preparing to revenge the loss of Cadiz. The weather prevented him from winning any marked success. He reached the Azores, and took several places, but missed the great Plate fleet, which was his special object; on his return, he was again ill received and disgraced. He was filled with anger, too, at events which had taken place during his absence. The Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, which he had desired for a friend of his own, had been given to his rival, Robert Cecil. The Lord-Admiral had

Essex.

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been raised to the rank of Earl of Nottingham, especially for his services at Cadiz, which Essex regarded as his own. This promotion, which gave Howard the precedence, induced Essex to withdraw in anger from the Court, and it was only on being created Earl Marshal, and thus regaining his precedence, that he consented to be appeased and again to appear at Court. It was a temporary alliance with the Cecils which gained him this promotion; his friendship was necessary for them during Robert Cecil's absence from England in the negotiation which preceded the Peace of Vervins, but the truce was of short duration. Their policies were too distinct to admit of cordial friendship, and Essex used all his influence successfully to thwart them in their desire of establishing a peace with Spain. In 1598, his petulance in the Council, when the question of the employment of a deputy for Ireland was brought forward, so roused the anger of the Queen, that she struck him. The quarrel, rather to the surprise of the world, was again made up; but she had become weary of his self-willed ways, and upon the death of Burghley, in 1598, it was to Robert Cecil, and not to him, that the chief power fell.

He succeeds in continuing war with Spain.

Loses the favour of the Queen.

Triumph of the Cecils.

Meanwhile, in the midst of intrigues for power at home, and of a not very dignified policy abroad, the nation had been sweeping on in a course of ever-increasing triumph. The wealth of the country, fostered by the lengthened freedom from foreign invasion and by the comparative lightness of the taxation, had been constantly on the increase. The decline of Spain, the renewed energy of England in maritime affairs, had opened new markets and increased commerce. The discovery of America had been gradually continued, principally by the efforts to discover the North-Western Passage. Frobisher had reached Labrador, Drake had twice circumnavigated the globe. Raleigh had founded a settlement in America, which, though at first unsuccessful, afterwards became the great province of Virginia. Great trading companies sprang into existence. In 1581, the Turkey Company was incorporated, and before the close of the reign, in 1600, the trade with the East Indies was so great as to authorize the establishment of the first East India Company.

National greatness.

With this great increase of commercial wealth, there sprang up a renewal of the same abuses that marked the reign of Henry VIII. Again land began to fall into the hands of the mercantile class; again arable land was changed into pasture, and small holdings were thrown into large farms. This inevitable change, ultimately perhaps advantageous, was at

Continuation of economic changes.

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that time looked upon as a great disaster, lessening as it did the yeoman class, in which the strength of England was supposed to reside. The Legislature, as usual, interfered. Acts were passed against the formation of large farms. No cottage was allowed to be built without a plot of four acres attached, while wages, which had begun to be treated as a matter to be settled by the law of supply and demand, were yearly regulated, to suit the varying value of the precious metals. This delicate operation was left in the hands of the county magistrates. Like all other such efforts, these attempts to check the natural growth of society were fruitless. The frequent expeditions threw upon the world a number of disbanded soldiers and sailors, and these, with the day-labourers who could find no work, gave rise to an ever-increasing and dangerous class of vagabonds. It was to meet this growing difficulty that the Parliament of 1597 devoted most of its attention. In the preceding reigns attempts had been made to alleviate the growing poverty by weekly collections in the churches. Authority was given, by a Statute in 1562, to the Bishop to compel the payment of this collection, and to determine the sum paid. This was the first beginning of a compulsory assessment for the relief of the poor. In 1572 a new law was passed, by which vagabonds and rogues were still to be punished with the stocks and otherwise, but at the same time the really indigent were registered, and convenient places established for their habitation, and overseers appointed to find work for those who were not absolutely incapacitated. Two years later, houses of correction, in which this work was exacted, were built. But in 1597, what may be regarded as the first general Poor Law was passed, which was completed in 1601, and continued in force till the new Poor Law (1832). By these laws, which were in spirit the same as the preceding ones, vagabond and sturdy beggars were still whipped and passed from parish to parish; but the assessment for the building of workhouses and the relief of the really destitute, which had hitherto been in the hands of the justices, was now intrusted to parochial officers, the overseers.

Attempts to check them.

Vagabonds.

The Poor Law.

Another sign of this transition period was the introduction of greater luxury. Freedom from civil war had rendered the old fortress or castellated mansion useless, and the land was now covered with noble but defenceless mansions, in that style of architecture which is still known as Elizabethan.

Growth of luxury.

As usual, after a period of intense mental and political excitement,

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the literary power of the nation awoke. All the new ideas called into existence by the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the discovery of the New World, which had hitherto been held in abeyance by the disturbed condition of the country, assumed a form, and found expression in writing. In every sphere of thought the same vitality made itself evident. Four pre-eminent names in different lines of literary activity mark the time —Shakspere, Spenser, Bacon, and Hooker. In all these four writers we have, in different ways, distinctly marked the influences of the time. The drama, one of the earliest forms in which the literary spirit of the people showed itself, had long existed in England. But, like other literature, it had fallen much into the hands of the Church. Miracles and moralities, in which either sacred histories were exhibited, or moral lessons inculcated by allegorical personages, had been the chief forms which it had assumed. The essential characteristic of the Renaissance was the return of men's minds from what was spiritual and ideal to what was real. Admiration for the beauties of external form took the place in Art of a love of beauty of sentiment. Raphael and Michael Angelo superseded Fra Angelico, with his stiff and conventional drawings, and beautiful, delicate, sentimental countenances. In the same way, upon the stage, men began to long for vigorous exhibitions of external action and of natural passions, where good and bad played their respective parts. Histories and rough comedies and farces began to take the place of the mystery plays. Unformed at first, these by degrees took shape. Already, at the beginning of the reign, Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, who forms a sort of intermediate link between the time of Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth, had written a regular tragedy called "Ferrex and Porrex." Other authors had continued his work, which found its completion however only in Shakspere, in whose writings all forms of life are shown with marvellous power, and all forms of the drama find their representatives. Deep metaphysical tragedy, regular well-ordered comedy, together with outbursts of the rough fun of the farce, are all to be found in his plays, while his knowledge of the springs of human action, his sympathy with all forms of human feeling, the comparative sobriety with which he clothes even his most passionate characters, satisfied the cravings of an age when, in the midst of strong excitement, Art was beginning to resume its sway. The allegory of Spenser had also been foreshadowed by Lord Buckhurst. In his "Induction to the Mirror of Magistrates" are specimens of

Literature.

Shakspere.

Spenser.

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powerful imaginative allegory unequalled even by Spenser. But as Shakspere brought drama to its perfection, so did Spenser allegory. The sensuous sweetness of his verse, the high tone in which his sentiment is pitched, the air of heroic knightly adventure which breathes through his works, are an exact expression of that side of English life which was called into existence by the daring adventures of our seamen, by the quaint and somewhat unreal chivalry of the Court, and by the religious element which was mingled in every question of the time. But if these two great poets represent the return to nature and the rebirth of modern knighthood which had been awakened by the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the dangerous position of a Queen, exciting at once loyalty and chivalry, both the philosophic and political character of the time is fairly represented by the prose writers—Hooker and Bacon. The one undertook the defence of the Church, not upon religious but upon political grounds, and in so doing touched the real spring of modern sovereignty. For this he rests as much as Locke subsequently did upon the ultimate will of the people, and an implied contract between King and people. In Bacon, on the other hand, we meet a system fated under one form or another to subvert for ever the philosophy of the Schoolmen. Bacon's system rests upon fact, upon experience, upon inquiry; the system of the older metaphysicians upon authority. And in this difference, in fact, is summed up the whole claim of the Reformers, whether religious or political. Henceforward reasonable and intellectual grounds are in all matters to take the place of mere assertion, however venerable or well supported.

Hooker.

Bacon.

The year 1598 was a very important one both for England and Europe. Abroad it was marked by the death of Philip II. and the change of policy of Henry IV. This king, finding it impossible to establish his position in opposition to the Catholics, having changed his religion, determined to attempt the difficult part of King of both parties. For this purpose he had first of all secured toleration to his former associates by issuing the Edict of Nantes. He had then to play a somewhat double part, which he performed successfully, but which a good deal shook the confidence that England had hitherto placed in him. For England the year was rendered important by the death of Burghley, whose sagacity had so triumphantly carried his mistress through her perilous reign. The habit of intrigue which had long been secretly

Importance of the year 1598.

Abroad.

In England. Death of Burghley.

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existing in England, now found room to exhibit itself in public. The points at issue were partly ambitious and personal, but partly involved principles. There was a contest for the vacant power, the rival aspirants to which were Burghley's son Robert and the Earl of Essex. No two men could have exhibited a sharper contrast. The one, educated by his father for the express purpose of succeeding him, was like his father in miniature, crafty, observant, cautious, but without his father's breadth of view. He was a type of the statesman class. Essex was a young soldier, impatient of delay, and full of eager action, but hot-tempered and overbearing, a type of that courtier class which had formed an inner circle round the Queen, and had attained their influence, such as it was, by the Queen's partiality rather than by their own wisdom. The Queen was passionately fond of him, and treated him like a spoilt child. Like a spoilt child he acted. When displeased, he rudely turned his back on her, she boxed his ears, and he went home sulkily and took to his bed. The trick of feigned indisposition nearly always brought his fond old mistress round again. He had managed to make enemies on all sides, and had quarrelled with Raleigh and the Howards by attributing lukewarmness to them at the siege of Cadiz in 1596. He thus stood almost alone in the Council.

Rivalry of Essex and Cecil: their characters.

But besides this personal rivalry there was involved the question of the succession, on which it was not safe to speak to the Queen. There were four possible claimants,[1] all of whom had something to be said for them. There was James of Scotland, the representative of the elder sister of Henry VIII. and the legitimate heir. Secondly, there was Lord Beauchamp, son of Catherine Grey and the Earl of Hertford, the representative of Henry VIII.'s second sister Mary, and heir in accordance with that monarch's will. Thirdly, the supporters of hereditary descent, who at the same time disliked the idea of an alien and a Scotchman, favoured the pretensions of Arabella Stuart, the daughter of the younger brother of Darnley, and like James a direct descendant from Henry's eldest sister, but through her second marriage with Lord Angus. Lastly, the Jesuits and vehement Catholics, with reminiscences of the last reign, desiring connection with Philip II. as head of their religion, were ready to uphold the claims of Isabella the Infanta, a direct descendant of John of Gaunt, who had married Constance, the daughter of Pedro the Cruel. Practically, before the close of the reign, all question as to the succession disappeared, and except the extreme Catholics, who hoped that it might be possible to make good the

Possible successors.

[1] See page 355.

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claims of the Infanta by force of arms, all England was ready to accept James. With him both Cecil and Essex were in correspondence. Their advice was characteristic. Essex urged the assembly of an army on the Borders and a demand of instant recognition as heir. Cecil, who saw how things were tending, recommended silence and delay, assuring James that all parties were gradually inclining in his favour.

Advice of Cecil and Essex to James.

But though at one in their views of the succession, Essex and Cecil were bitter enemies; and an event soon happened which gave the crafty statesman an opportunity of allowing his rival to destroy himself. Affairs in Ireland demanded active interference; throughout the reign there had been much trouble there, and the Queen had somewhat neglected it in her constant attention to English and Continental politics. After the suppression of the revolt of Desmond, O'Neil, who had hitherto been faithful and rewarded with the title of Earl of Tyrone, rose in insurrection. Various governors, left without much assistance from England, had attempted in vain to suppress him, and lately Bagnal had suffered a complete defeat at Blackwater. There were rumours also that Tyrone was expecting assistance from Spain, and it became necessary to act with energy. When the subject was discussed in the Council, Essex found objections to every name mentioned as Deputy, and it was evident to his enemies that he was himself desirous of the place. Conscious of the dangers which attended the position, especially to so aspiring and hot-tempered a man as Essex, his enemies were only too glad to let him go, especially as he was thus removed from the Council. Nor was the Queen, in spite of her fondness for him, blind to his faults. She was therefore glad to get rid of him without inflicting disgrace.

Irish affairs.

Armed with fuller powers than had ever before been intrusted to a viceroy,—the right of pardoning even treason, and of making either peace or war,—and attended by a powerful army, Essex set out for his new destination. His reception by the Irish was enthusiastic, and seems to have overturned his not too well-balanced character. Instead of at once marching in strength to the North, where O'Neil's power was, he wasted his time in an idle parade through Limerick and Kilkenny, and finally, when he found his army dwindling from him, he held a meeting with Tyrone upon the river Brenny, and admitted him to peace on terms that could hardly fail to be distasteful to the English Government. There were indeed some points in them which lead to the belief that he aimed at estab-

Essex goes to Ireland. Triumph of Cecil. March 1599.

Conduct of Essex in Ireland.

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lishing himself as in some sort independent Governor of Ireland. Tyrone demanded that half the army should consist of Irishmen, that the judges and chief officials should be Irish, that his lands and those of Desmond should be restored, and added the suspicious clause that some great Earl should be sent over to represent the Crown. The whole course of Essex's conduct was such as to draw down upon him a reprimand from the English Council which his hasty temper could ill brook. It is possible that he designed to use his Irish army against his enemies in the Council, but he first determined to make a final trial of that personal influence over the Queen which had so often served him. He hurried across the Channel, and hastened to the Queen's presence, using all the freedom of a favoured lover. All soiled as he was from his long journey, he burst into her room before she was dressed, for her hair was hanging loose about her, and throwing himself upon his knees and kissing her dress, sought to revive her old affection for him. For the moment he was successful. But that wiser and more queenly part of her, which was so frequently opposed to her inclination, rapidly awoke, and no sooner had he left her presence than her anger rose, and she never saw him again.

His hasty return and disgrace.

He was finally, after some questioning, committed to free custody, but his temper could not bear even this moderate restraint. Believing that his disgrace was the work of his private enemies, he was hurried into a violent course of action. He sought partisans among the disaffected of all parties. The penal laws at that time pressed heavily upon the Catholics. An affectation of religion gathered round him the Puritans, and to these he added some of the more violent Catholics, ready to make common cause with any who would oppose the Government. Among the number were some who played a part afterwards in the Gunpowder treason; Tresham, Catesby, and Mounteagle were among his followers. His house was filled with armed men, and the Council at length determined to take action against him. The Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief-Justice, and other members of the Council, went to his house to inquire into the cause of the assembly. Essex, who seems to have believed that the critical moment had arrived, and that he must either strike at once or be destroyed, led them into an inner chamber and locked them in, and then, with the Earl of Southampton, rode through the streets with swords drawn, attempting to raise the populace. He had expected that a crowd, and many of his own partisans, would have been gathered at Paul's Cross, hearing a sermon. Measures had been

His treason. 1601.

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taken to prevent the meeting. The attempt to rouse the city was a complete failure. No man stirred on his behalf, and before many hours were over the Council thought it safe to order his apprehension, and set a price upon his head. He was tried by the Peers, on the whole fairly, though the trial was not without those marks of tyranny which characterize the State trials of the period. He was found guilty and beheaded. Essex asserted to the end that he was free from treason to the Queen, and desirous only to save his own life, threatened by the intrigues of Raleigh and Cobham. That he was technically guilty of treason is obvious. On all grounds, it seems probable that he was aiming at playing a part resembling that of the Duke of Guise in France. Against the Queen's person it may well be believed he had no designs, but a complete and violent change of the Government was almost certainly his object. Lord Mountjoy succeeded him in his Irish command. The Spaniards who had been expected arrived, in number about 4000, at Kinsale. Tyrone joined them with 6000 Irish. The united army was defeated, and Tyrone yielded on condition that his life and land should be spared.

Trial and death. Feb. 1601.

Sequel of Irish affairs. Nov. 1602.

The end of Elizabeth's reign is marked by one other characteristic event. Among the unwise exertions of her power of which the Queen had been guilty was the grant of numerous monopolies. The effect of these was to raise the price of the monopolized articles, to the great detriment of her people. The Queen's last Parliament, which assembled in October 1601, complained of this exercise of the prerogative, and an Act was introduced by Lawrence Hyde against them. While the Bill was still pending, a message was brought from the Queen, in which she declared, that as she understood that patents she had granted were grievous to her people, they should be looked to immediately, and none be put into execution but such as should first have a trial according to the law, for the good of the people. This declaration was received with enthusiasm, and a large deputation from the Commons waited to return thanks. She answered them with words full of kindness and dignity, declaring that "she appealed to the judgment of God, but never thought was cherished in her heart that tended not to her people's good." She closed her address, the last she ever uttered to the Commons, with these words: "Though you have had, and may have, many Princes more mighty and wise sitting in this seat, yet you

Queen's last Parliament. 1601.

Her wise withdrawal of monopolies.

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never had, or shall have, any that will be more careful and loving." It was this real sympathy which existed between the Queen and her people, this real desire to reign for their good, and this readiness to acknowledge and retract her errors, when once they were made plain to her, which has covered the multitude of her whimsical oddities and arbitrary exertions of authority, and fixed the love of her so deeply in the heart of the nation, that her reign has ever been looked back to as the most glorious era of England's history.

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JAMES I.

1603—1625.

James I. = Anne of Denmark.
b. 1566.

Henry died 1612. | Charles I. | Elizabeth = Frederick, Count Palatine.

Sophia = Elector of Hanover. | Rupert. | Maurice

George I.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

France.	*Germany.*	*Spain.*
Henry IV., 1589.	Rodolph II., 1576.	Philip III., 1598.
Louis XIII., 1610.	Matthias, 1612.	Philip IV., 1621.
	Ferdinand II., 1619.	

POPES.—Clement VIII., 1592. Leo XI., 1605. Paul V., 1605. Gregory XV., 1621. Urban VIII., 1624.

Archbishops.	*Chancellors.*
John Whitgift, 1583.	Lord Ellesmere, 1596.
Richard Bancroft, 1604	Lord Bacon, 1617.
George Abbot, 1611.	John Williams, 1621.

THE period which has now been reached is one of marked change. No one can compare the position of Elizabeth with that of one of the earlier Kings of the Hanoverian house, without being struck with the complete alteration that had taken place in the position of royalty. Two classes of men had exercised influence during the reign of the Queen; on the one hand her counsellors, such as Burghley and Walsingham, whose claim to her trust was their fidelity and wisdom, on the other hand the courtiers, such as Essex and Raleigh, whose influence rested upon the personal attachment which the Queen felt for them. But both courtiers and counsellors had found it necessary constantly to earn the Queen's approval; the wisest among them could only get his views put into action by dressing them in a shape which would be

Change in the position of royalty.

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agreeable to the Queen. In fact, in all externals she was absolute, and is the central figure of her own reign. With the Hanoverian Kings the very reverse is the case, the position of King and Minister appears to be inverted; it was the King who now found it difficult to get his wishes put into execution, and could only do so by rendering them acceptable to his aristocratic masters.

Two causes for it.

This change in the condition of the monarchy is the main feature of the time, and was the fruit of two great convulsions, the one popular, and the other aristocratic. The first, as is usual in exhibitions of popular force, rested upon enthusiasm and violence, at once the fruit and parent of rich and pregnant ideas. It was, in its character, destructive. For enthusiasm is in its nature evanescent, and want of material force, of education, and of political practice preclude a popular party from founding institutions and putting the stamp of permanence on their work. The other was aristocratic, and marked by the constructive wisdom which is the characteristic of aristocratic movements. For aristocracies, not fertile in new ideas, are well capable of appropriating and rendering permanent the ideas of others. On many occasions, in English history, the aristocracy has shown itself willing to take the lead in patriotic movements. Indeed, the strength of English liberty depends on the union of classes which has produced it. But in this instance, as in all others, the aristocracy has sought its own ends in its patriotic action. When those ends had been attained it settled back into its natural exclusive conservatism, and became an obstacle at once in the way of the ruler who desired to govern and the people who desired to be free. The interest of the period is centred in tracing the causes and history of these two great convulsions.

The original idea of a King.

But there is something more than the facts to be observed. For political changes are not the products of fortuitous circumstance, but depend upon the growth of ideas. Many causes had led to a complete change in the idea of royalty. The original royal relation of clan or tribal chief had disappeared before the advance of feudalism. The two most prominent ideas of feudalism were the double ownership of land, and the dependence of authority both judicial and executive on the possession of land. In accordance with the first of these, every man knew that, while absolute master of his own property as regards those below him, there was some one above him to whom the land belonged also. Working backwards from the base towards the summit, any one examining this theory would arrive at length at the King, and naturally putting him in the same position with regard to his subjects as that

as proprietor of the land.

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occupied by any other feudal lord, would regard him as absolute possessor of the land over which he ruled, subject only to some superior authority, if such could be found. There thus arose the notion that the King was the real possessor of the country, and thus, in the time of Henry VIII., the King was allowed to deal with the kingdom by will, exactly as ordinary property was dealt with. This may be called the proprietary idea of sovereignty. But the theory, pushed even beyond the King, gave rise to the mediæval notions of the still higher authority of either Emperor or Pope. Schism, maladministration, and loss of practical power prevented men from any longer accepting either of these superiors. When the question then was asked, Who then is the superior lord of the King? the only answer that could be given was "God." There thus arose the idea of the Divine right of kings. And these two were the only theories of royalty as yet prevalent.

His Divine right.

But reverting to the second feudal notion, the connection of authority with the possession of land, everywhere, in England more especially, judicial and executive authority had been divorced from land, and had been placed in the hands of officials. In many instances those officials were elective. Thus the feudal notion with regard to authority had received a death-blow. Moreover, the agitation of the Reformation had given birth to Presbyterianism, or Church government by the congregation, as contrasted with the government by divinely-ordained priests; and thus even in the sphere of religion the idea of official government had begun to supplant the idea of authority based upon Divine right. There then arose the question, Is not the King after all, instead of being the proprietor, an official? and if an official, whence is his authority derived, if not from the source of all official authority, the people? There thus arose, in the place of territorial royalty, or Divine right royalty, the idea of official royalty depending on the will of the nation, in other words, of constitutional royalty. Such was the view held by the Puritan party, and later on by the Whig party. And most of the events which happened during the reign of the Stuart Kings are closely connected with this change of ideas.

The idea of official royalty.

The new King entered upon his kingdom with the fullest idea of his own prerogative and belief in the Divine right of kings. Nothing else could be expected. Elizabeth had, to all appearance, regained, after its temporary relaxation in the reign of her sister, the absolute position of the Tudors. The separation from Rome which had followed her accession had re-established her power over the Church. That authority had been

James's view of his prerogative.

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wielded with determination, and the close of her reign appeared to exhibit her as mistress alike of Church and State. But even in Henry VIII.'s reign signs had been visible that the great personal power of the Crown rested at bottom upon the national approbation. It was because his will was so much in harmony with that of his people that Henry had been allowed to become so entirely its representative. In Elizabeth's reign this connection was even more evident. The ease with which, on several occasions, she yielded to the demands of the Commons showed that she was herself conscious of it. The growth of the Puritan party, and the political ideas indissolubly connected with their religious creed, had given back to the Commons something of their former independence. But the grandeur and success of the reign, the general popularity of the Queen, and the pride which the people, as a whole, felt in her greatness, had veiled the amount of influence which popular feeling had exerted upon her. It was the misappreciation of this power which was the mistake of James and the ruin of his house. Strong in his Divine right, in his evident mastery of both Church and State, he attempted to carry out his views without regard to the people's wishes. The inevitable consequence arose. The Parliament—more freely elected than it had hitherto been, grown more powerful by the increased wealth of the middle classes, and Puritan in its tendencies—found itself opposed instead of being humoured, and began to remember its old greatness. Traditions of its position under the Plantagenets and Lancastrians began to gain ground, and the rival ideas of a King, the official head of a national legislative body, and a King whose Divine right authorized him to pursue an independent course of his own, and to act if he chose even in opposition to the advice of his Parliament, came into inevitable collision. The increased importance of Parliament is visible from the very beginning of the reign. It is no longer the King, but the Parliament, against which the efforts of the Jesuits were directed. But it was not till the line of conduct adopted by James in his foreign policy directly crossed the national wishes that the rising opposition found its first formidable expression in the great Protest of 1622.

Rising opposition of Parliament.

The death of Elizabeth was reported at once to James. But he acted in accordance with Cecil's advice, waited until the information was formally sent him by the English Council, and even then showed no unseemly hurry to take possession of his inheritance. There was indeed no danger to be dreaded; Cecil's view proved quite correct. Not

James well received by Puritans and Catholics. 1603.

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only were the people, as a whole, willing to receive their new King, but both extreme parties looked forward with hope to his accession. He had been educated among the Presbyterians, and had often expressed himself as an admirer of the Scotch Kirk; and the Puritans could not know that he was at heart very weary of the meddling dictatorial character of its chief members, and likely to use his new opportunities to oppose them; they hoped from him a relaxation of those restraints which Elizabeth had put upon them. At the same time, his feelings with regard to royalty, and his book entitled "The Basilicon Doron," gave Catholics reason to believe that he would ameliorate the penal laws. It was the disappointment of these hopes which led to the disturbances at the beginning of his reign.

At the same time the uncertainty which hung over the probable conduct of the new King again gave opportunity for the intrigues of foreign courts. Again France and Spain entered the lists to secure the friendship of England. Thus, immediately upon his accession, Henry IV. of France despatched his great minister, Sully, to demand a continuance of the friendly relations between France and England, while Spain, in the same way and for the same object, sent over its minister, Aremberg. While Sully was himself in England, his character and address secured the success of his mission. He even induced James to go so far in opposition to the Spanish as secretly to supply the Dutch (still engaged in their war of independence) with money. But when Sully left the country, James's natural inclinations came into play. His great wish was for a general peace; his great principle the supremacy of royalty. He did not see why he should continue the war with Spain; he had little fancy for supporting the cause of rebel subjects. He therefore, in the following year, after some little negotiations, made a treaty with Spain also. Advantage was taken of the eager rivalry of foreign ambassadors at the English Court by those who were displeased with the turn affairs had taken. The enemies of Cecil had hoped much from the change of dynasty, but found their enemy as firmly established and as influential as ever. Raleigh, Cobham and Northumberland entered into correspondence with the French ambassador, and attempted to induce him to assist them in overthrowing their rival, but the French Court, feeling that it was gaining its end by diplomatic means, rejected their overtures. Upon this Northumberland withdrew, but Raleigh and Cobham addressed themselves to Count Aremberg, who, deeply anxious to gain England for the Spanish interests on the Continent, and aware that Cecil inclined towards French and Protestant alliances, listened to their pro-

Both France and Spain seek his alliance.

The Main Plot.

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positions. From this correspondence arose what is known as the "Main Plot," the object of which was probably the overthrow of Cecil, perhaps even a more complete revolution, by the establishment of Arabella Stuart[1] on the throne by means of Spanish influence.

The Bye Plot.

There was at the same time a second plot set on foot, known as the "Bye" or Surprise Plot. The chief conspirators were a gentleman called Markham, and George Brooke, Lord Cobham's brother. Their idea, as that of Essex had been, was to join the extreme parties, who had already begun to see that their hopes of favour were likely to be disappointed. They therefore joined with themselves Watson, a Catholic missionary, prominent among the English Roman Catholic party, and Lord Grey, a staunch Puritan. Their project was to surprise and take possession of the King's person, and to win by violence that toleration which they desired. But the combination was ill-cemented; and Watson formed a plan of his own, intending with his Catholics to rescue the King after he had been seized, and thus to win his object from the royal gratitude. He communicated the plan to the Jesuits, who did not approve of it, and informed Cecil.

That minister at once saw the opportunity for destroying his rivals.

Cecil gets rid of his rivals by mixing the plots.

The presence of Brooke, Cobham's brother, in the lesser plot seemed sufficient ground to connect the two. Raleigh, Cobham and Grey were apprehended. The two plots were artfully mixed by Coke, the Attorney-General, and the conviction of all the leaders, both Commoners and Lords, was secured. Much mystery hangs over the story, caused chiefly by this union of the plots and by the strange conduct of Cobham, a man of extreme weakness, who repeatedly confessed, and as often withdrew his confession. Even on the trial of Raleigh, two letters were produced, in one of which Cobham declared that Raleigh was wholly guiltless, in the other that he was the chief instigator in the business, and the very person who had persuaded Cobham to join it. Whatever the truth may have been, the verdicts were obtained—Watson and another priest were executed; Raleigh imprisoned for many years, and Cobham, Grey, and Markham, by a curious trick of the King, brought each separately to the scaffold, there induced, as usual, to confess, and then withdrawn. Finally, to their great astonishment, they were all three produced simultaneously, and reprieved. The failure of this political intrigue opened the eyes of those Puritans whose hopes had been raised by James's toleration of the Scotch Presbyterians.

[1] See page 355.

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A conference was almost immediately opened between the Puritans and the Bishops at Hampton Court. This conference was held in consequence of a great petition, which had been presented to James during his progress from Scotland, known as the Millenary Petition, so called because it was intended to represent the feelings of a thousand Puritan clergy; it demanded the abolition of those ceremonies which they could not conscientiously accept. These Puritans, it must be remembered, were not Dissenters, but members of the Church of England. But James had now the opportunity of displaying his real feelings on religious matters. Four ministers were called to meet the King and the Bishops and other Church dignitaries. It has been frequently said that this was a very unfair arrangement, throwing the whole weight of authority on one party. It is more just to regard it as the natural and proper way of discussing the petition among the leaders of the Church, a certain number of the petitioners being allowed to be present to support their claims. But though justly formed, it soon became evident that the result was predetermined. Smarting under the restraint which the Church had put upon him in his own country, James was charmed with the obsequiousness of the English Bishops; for in England the Church was before all things a creation of the royalty. He was delighted too with the opportunity of displaying his theological erudition. He threw himself heartily on the side of the High Church party, and condescended to enter personally into the dispute. The English Churchmen were much pleased, and lowered themselves to the basest flattery. The King, they declared, was speaking by the direct inspiration of the Spirit. As a natural consequence, the claims of the petitioners, though they were confined really to slight matters which to us appear almost immaterial, were rejected, and the only upshot of the conference worth mentioning was the project of the Authorized Version of the Bible. The rejection of the claims of the Puritans was followed by an outrageous infraction of law—the imprisonment of ten of those who had presented the petition, the Star Chamber having declared that it tended to sedition and rebellion.

Conference at Hampton Court. Jan. 1604.

Triumph of the High Church party.

Such conduct showed the fixed intention of the King in Church matters, opened the eyes of the Puritans, and caused a bitter discontent, which speedily found means to show itself in Parliament. Even in Elizabeth's reign the Parliament had been inclined to Puritanism. The love of political liberty in fact went hand in hand with dislike of an arbitrary and ceremonious Church. And the Commons,

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who had ventured, and ventured sometimes successfully, to oppose the great Queen, were not inclined to be submissive to their new Scotch monarch. Nor had he taken steps to conciliate them. In the proclamation by which they had been summoned the King had put his own authority ostentatiously forward, and had seemed to dictate to the electors the sort of members whom they should elect; and immediately upon their assembling a quarrel had arisen upon the point of privilege. A certain Goodwin had been elected for Buckinghamshire; some years previously he had been outlawed; the proclamation had forbidden the election of outlawed men; the King therefore declared the election void, and secured the return of Sir John Fortescue, a member of the Council. The Commons insisted upon their right of inquiring into the election of their own members. The King tried to settle the question by an appeal to the Judges. The Commons refused to listen to such a decision, but, after much controversy, the King so far prevailed as to bring about a Conference between the Parliament and the Judges in his presence. A compromise was hit upon, both elections were declared void, and a new writ issued; the King confessed that the House of Commons was "a Court of Record."[1] From this time onward their privilege to decide upon elections has never been questioned. This disastrous opening was followed by a stormy session, in which the grievances of the Commons were fully urged, and which closed by a protest in which they declared the King's miscomprehension of their position. He regarded their privileges, they said, as not of right but of grace, and was inclined to refuse them the position of a Court of Record. In opposition they asserted that their position and privileges were their right and heritage, and that the High Court of Parliament was the supreme Court of the land. While thus defending their privileges, they carried the war into the enemy's country, by still further increasing the severities of the penal laws against the Catholics, to whom, as they thought, the King was inclined to show favour.

James displeasing to his Puritan Parliament. March 1604.

They insist on their privileges.

To vindicate himself from this charge, James thought it necessary to exact the legal fine of £20 a month from all Catholics, and even to demand the arrears due for the preceding period during which the law had been in abeyance.

To appease them he persecutes the Catholics.

[1] The Superior Courts are Courts of Record, so called because their proceedings are enrolled on parchment. Such records are authoritative and held to prove themselves. Courts of Record have further the right to fine for contempt and to examine on oath. County Courts, Hundred Courts, Courts Baron, are not Courts of Record, nor, properly speaking, are the Courts of Equity.

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Many Catholics were thus wholly ruined, and the King excited general displeasure by giving these fines as presents to his Scotch friends. At the same time the clergy in convocation passed a new body of Canons, laying down rules for the celebration of public worship, and excommunicating all such as should deny the supremacy of the Crown, separate from the Church, or attack the Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-nine Articles. These Canons, though fortified by letters patent under the Great Seal, were held by the Courts of Westminster to be binding on the clergy only. On them they pressed heavily, and a considerable number of the clergy, variously given between the numbers of 50 and 300, found themselves obliged to vacate their livings. The King's conduct had thus disappointed both Puritan and Catholic. He had adopted fully the secular view of the Church, based upon the complete supremacy of the Crown in spiritual matters. The Puritans had found means to express their disappointment by opposition in Parliament; the Catholics, equally disappointed, and harassed by new persecutions, were driven to conspiracy.

New body of Canons.

The consequence was the Gunpowder Plot, which originated in the mind of Catesby, one of the sufferers by the late enactments. He was a gentleman from Ashby St. Legers, who had joined in the treason of Essex, and had subsequently been a member of the Spanish party. When all other hope seemed to have disappeared, he determined to destroy those whom he regarded as the cause of the oppression of the Catholics, hoping, in the confusion thus caused, that the Catholics throughout England would rise. He opened his mind to other kindred spirits—to Winter and Fawkes, who had already acted as agents to the Spanish party, to Wright, an old partisan of Essex, and to Percy, the steward and relative of the Earl of Northumberland, who is said to have had a private cause of anger against the King, because he had failed to keep some engagements he had entered into with him. Catesby got his monstrous plan ratified by the Jesuits, as Garnet, the Provincial of the Jesuits, to whom he applied, declares, not by explaining his own plot, but by substituting a hypothetical case. He obtained leave to take a commission under the Austrian Archdukes,[1] at that time engaged in the war against the Netherlands, and thus got a pretext for raising armed men, and then set about his plan with considerable skill. He engaged an empty house next to the Houses of Parliament. With great labour

Gunpowder Plot. 1604.

[1] Archduke Albert, son of Ferdinand I., had married the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, daughter of Philip II.; and they jointly governed the Netherlands under the name of the Archdukes.

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he and his confederates proceeded to dig through the wall, burying at night in the garden the rubbish made during the day. The work was very laborious, and they were rejoiced to find a vacant cellar immediately under the Parliament House. This they engaged; and hiring a house at Lambeth, there prepared their materials, which they brought across the water, and secreted in the cellar as though it were fuel. They had expected the Parliament to meet in September; it was prorogued till October, and the conspirators dispersed, leaving their mine in the cellar. A few more ardent Catholics were admitted into the secret; among others, Rookwood, a Suffolk man, a breeder of horses, which it was thought would be useful for the insurrection. Fawkes went abroad to enlist soldiers. All was again ready, when they were disappointed by a fresh prorogation.

Their resources had come to an end, and they were compelled to recruit them by adding to their number two wealthy young men, Digby, and Tresham, a man of somewhat uncertain character, but who, like so many of the other conspirators, had been a partisan of Essex. It was the admission of this last confederate which ruined their plot. It was natural that wholesale destruction of innocent men, as well as those whom they regarded as guilty, should excite qualms in the minds of the conspirators. Some arrangements were certainly made to keep, if possible, the Catholic Peers and Commoners from Parliament. But this was not enough for Tresham, who was very anxious to save Lord Mounteagle, who had married his sister. His difficulty was how to do this without revealing his associates. The means he took were circuitous. In all probability he discussed the matter with Lord Mounteagle. At all events, that nobleman, contrary to his usual practice, dined and slept one day at a country house belonging to him. There was there brought to him a mysterious letter, warning him to avoid the meeting of Parliament, containing these words, "The danger is over as soon as you shall have burnt this letter." Lord Mounteagle put the letter into the hands of one of his gentlemen to read, and the very next morning this same gentleman told Winter that the letter had been laid before the Council. It was doubtless the object of Mounteagle and Tresham that the conspirators should take the opportunity to withdraw, and any sign of movement on Cecil's part would probably have had that effect. But Cecil, whose inquiries probably disclosed the complicity of Percy in the plot, and who saw the hold thus given him on his rival, Northumberland, was not likely to fall into such an error. He remained perfectly quiet. On the 2nd of November, the King having returned from hunting

Fresh members admitted.

Discovered by the Council. 1605.

at Renston, a Council was held, and the enigmatical passage of the letter explained.

The news that this Council had been held, and that the existence of the mine was known, was again conveyed to Winter by Mounteagle's servant. But even this information did not deter him from pursuing his project. Percy, Winter, and Fawkes remained in London to carry their measures to completion. The other conspirators withdrew to Dunchurch, where Sir Everard Digby, under pretext of a great hunting party, had collected a great body of Catholics. On the evening of the 4th, the Lord Chamberlain, with Lord Mounteagle, visited the cellars, there found Fawkes, and remarked on the large stack of fuel. A little after midnight Fawkes, opening the door of the vault, was suddenly seized by a party of soldiers. The news of his apprehension speedily reached his accomplices, who rode off directly to Dunchurch. The hunting party, seeing that the opportunity was gone, dispersed; while the leaders of the plot rode to Holbeach, in Worcestershire, and there, about fifty in number, turned upon their pursuers, for the counties had been raised in pursuit of them. An accidental explosion wounded some of them. Others continued their flight still further, but Catesby, Percy, and the two Wrights were killed; the two Winters, Rookwood, Digby, and some others taken prisoners. Three Jesuits were also apprehended; Garnet being discovered in hiding at Henlip in a secret chamber.

Flight of the conspirators.

The lay prisoners were speedily convicted and executed. The trial of Garnet was more difficult, but his knowledge of the plot was at last proved by a conversation between himself and one of his fellow-prisoners, treacherously devised and overheard. It is probable that he might even then have escaped his fate, had it not been for his open avowal of the lawfulness of equivocation and mental reservation on any point which might criminate himself. This destroyed all credit in his assertions, and took from him all chance of popular sympathy. He was executed, and for long afterwards regarded as a martyr by the English Catholics. Three Lords, whose intended absence from the Parliament was held to imply their knowledge of the Plot, were kept in custody; and Cecil also contrived to rid himself of his opponent Northumberland and to procure his imprisonment for life, though there was little to connect him with the conspiracy except his name. The Catholics reaped the inevitable fruit of an abortive conspiracy; the Parliament which they had intended to destroy not unnaturally devoted its time to a still further increase of the penal statutes. Catholic recusants were

Their capture and execution.

deprived of nearly all their civil rights, heavy fines were levied if their children remained unchristened, and if they absented themselves from church, while if the children were sent abroad to be educated they became incapable of inheriting, and their property passed to the nearest Protestant successor. They were all too, by the mere fact of their being Catholics, excommunicated. At the same time this conspiracy temporarily threw the King decidedly into the Protestant cause in Europe.

James's position now secure, he shows his real character.

All opposition to the accession of James was now over. He was henceforward safely seated on the throne, and able to exhibit himself in all his true colours; and the real point of interest of the reign, the beginning and gradual increase of the opposition to that Divine right of which he was the representative, may now be said to begin. It may be traced primarily, no doubt, to the disappointment caused to the English by the person and character of the King. Much shrewd sense, considerable learning, a good knowledge of the intricacies of European policy, and a by no means unstatesmanlike view of the necessity of European peace, and the means of procuring it, were veiled by faults and weaknesses which completely neutralized them. The old nobility found him reckless in the distribution of favour; soldiers and men of action found him peaceful and careless of the national honour; both Puritans and Catholics found him a narrow-minded persecutor; the House of Commons found him a spendthrift and an arrogant upholder of prerogative; while all respectable men were disgusted at the lavish and gluttonous exhibitions which characterized his Court. In person ungainly, with rolling walk, with a tongue too big for his mouth, of unclean habits (for we are told he never washed his hands), he gave himself up, in his delight of new-found wealth, to a course of half-barbaric pageantry and profusion. His revels were marked by an intemperance in which even his ladies joined. He was for ever tippling, though not often very drunk; and, as he fell into the hands of favourites, had a nauseous habit of "hugging and kissing the dear one" which must have been most offensive to English dignity.

Consequent opposition.

But the opposition to the high prerogative notions rested also upon grounds more real and efficient than mere personal disappointment or disgust. The political consequences of James's profusion and his love of favourites were more important than the contempt which they caused. The King was constantly in want of money, and was thus brought frequently into collision with his Parliament; for Cecil and his other ministers, driven to ex-

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tremity to supply him, and with strong views themselves as to the royal rights, did not shrink from the employment of the most illegal means of filling the Treasury.

Indirectly, in another way, the extravagance of James touched the labouring and unrepresented classes. As was natural, the example of the Court spread to the nobility. The receptions of the King in his progress were extravagant beyond even those of Elizabeth's reign, and the want of money thus engendered carried the nobles forward in the course which has already been mentioned as begun under the Tudors. The enclosure of commons and open grounds was so rife, that in 1607 an insurrection broke out in the midland counties among the peasantry, under the leadership of a man who took the name of Captain Pouch. He was so called from a leathern bag which he carried round his shoulder, and which he declared contained a talisman to secure his success. For some time they took their course unchecked, breaking down park railings and enclosures of commons. At length the gentry armed, and the outbreak was suppressed without much difficulty; and it is to James's credit that he showed some sympathy with the offenders, and though a few were executed, on the whole they were leniently treated. Parliament met for the third time in 1609, when the natural consequences of extravagant government showed themselves, and the battle which was to end only with the Revolution began. The treasury had to be filled, and it was necessary to ask the help of the Commons to fill it; but not before all other methods had been tried. When Cecil became Lord-Treasurer he found the debt amounted to £1,300,000, while there was an annual deficit of upwards of £80,000. He had recourse to all possible means of raising money; he collected loans under privy seals, and going a step further in illegality, he considerably increased the customs. The courts of law had in the case of one Bates decided that the King was able thus to increase the customs; and the judges, Clark and Fleming, in giving judgment in the case, had stated views in favour of very high prerogative. Sustained by this decision, the minister issued, in 1608, a book of rates, by which all the customs were considerably raised. Even these resources proved insufficient, and Cecil found himself obliged to demand a supply of £600,000, and an increase of yearly income amounting to £200,000. On bringing forward this demand, he invited the Commons to state their grievances. They took him at his word. It then became plain, that though the power of the purse supplied them with the opportunity of making known their grievances, though illegal

Cecil's attempts to get money.

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taxation was the most obvious abuse against which to direct their attacks, the leaders of the Parliament did not confine themselves to money questions, but regarded the illegal exactions of imposts merely as one part of a general system, and intended to assault the whole structure of absolute monarchy. The gentry, always conservative in their tendencies, at length felt themselves strong enough to step into the place of the nobility who had in old times guided the constitutional advances of the nation. They were determined, if possible, to bring back the constitution of England to the position it had occupied before circumstances had allowed the Tudors to establish their new and all but absolute monarchy. When called upon to state their grievances, the Parliament complained of the new impositions, as the increased customs were called, of the extra legal authority of the Court of High Commission, and of the Court of Wales—a court which had been created to withdraw the four counties of Hereford, Gloucester, Worcester, and Shropshire from the ordinary jurisdiction of common law, on the plea that they were the Welsh Marches—and lastly, they complained of the free use of royal proclamations, which were held as binding as statutes. The anxiety of the Commons on these points was well grounded. Many signs showed how firmly the idea of absolute Divine monarchy was rooting itself. The language used by the Church with regard to the royal prerogative was full of danger. The ecclesiastical courts used the civil or Roman law, and not the common law of the land. A law dictionary had lately been brought out by an eminent civilian of the name of Cowell, which had stated the claims of the Crown in the broadest and most unqualified form. This book was mentioned in the House and condemned. Cowell suffered a short imprisonment. The monarchical tendencies of the civil lawyers, who wished to put the King into the same position as the Emperor had occupied in the Roman theory of law, were shared by the lawyers of the equity courts, which also used forms of process distinct from those of the common law courts, and claimed their authority as representatives of the old royal Council. As the old Council had been a court of final resort, its authority had been frequently used to establish practical justice where the technical law of the common law courts failed. The Chancellor, the head of the equity courts, had, for instance, taken upon himself the duty of insisting upon the performance of trusts. When property had been left to one man for the benefit of another, the common law recognized the first owner only, who might thus appropriate the property, to the detriment of the man for whose use it was left. In such and similar

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cases the Chancellor had stepped in to see justice done. This interference with the course of law, an interference resting originally on the authority of the King in Council, gave great umbrage to the common lawyers, while it inclined the equity lawyers to take a high view of the King's power. This may tend to explain the great number of common-law lawyers who gave their very valuable aid to the constitutional opposition of this time.

No redress was obtained to the grievances of the Commons, and the grant of money became a matter of bargain upon another point. Though feudalism as a social institution had disappeared, the feudal tenure of land still existed, still bringing with it its old legal burdens. This the Commons now wished to be absolutely abolished, and were willing to give the King the equivalent for the rights he thus lost. James had a notion that his own respectability and that of the gentry of England depended on this peculiar tenure. He therefore refused to abolish it, but offered to give up the incidents, such as aids, purveyance and wardship, which accompanied it, for an equivalent. After much haggling, the price was settled at £200,000 a year, and Cecil believed that he had gained his object. But during a prorogation the Commons changed their mind, upon reassembling refused to complete the arrangement, and the Parliament was dissolved in anger.

Shortly afterwards Cecil died; it is said that his health was destroyed by his failure. Although an arbitrary and time-serving statesman, he had yet retained some of the traditions of the great reign of Elizabeth, especially in regard to foreign policy. His influence had been consistently exerted to restrain the King from throwing himself into an alliance with Spain, which, with its magnificent pretensions and absolute monarchy, exercised a strong fascination upon James. Under Cecil's guidance, and in the temporary return to Protestant policy which followed the Gunpowder Plot, England had even played no inconsiderable part in the conclusion of the great twelve years' truce between Spain and her revolted colonies in the year 1609. Again, in the question of the succession of Juliers and Cleves, which was exciting the minds of all European statesmen, England had sided decidedly with the Protestant claimant. Those provinces were claimed by the Princes of Brandenburg and of Neuburg, as well as by both branches of the Saxon house, and, pending a settlement, had been arbitrarily sequestrated by the Emperor, and placed in the hand of his relative the Archduke Leopold. Irritated at this stretch of imperial power, the Prince Palatine of Neuburg and the Duke of Brandenburg made common

Death of Cecil. 1612.

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cause, and came to an agreement by which they jointly occupied the disputed territories. The point at issue was generally understood to be not so much the possession of the provinces as the establishment of Austrian and Catholic influence in that part of Germany. Henry IV. and the United Provinces, together with the German Protestant Union, proceeded to arm in defence of the two Princes in possession, and James was induced to join them and despatch 4000 troops to their aid. Just before the execution of the plan, which involved enterprises of much greater moment against the house of Austria, Henry IV. was assassinated by Ravaillac. Nevertheless, as far as Juliers was concerned, the expedition was completed, and the English assisted in establishing the two Protestant Princes in the country.

Marriage of Princess Elizabeth. 1613.

The last traces of Cecil's policy may be found in the marriages arranged for the Princess Elizabeth and for Henry Prince of Wales. On the death of Henry IV., James was regarded for the time as the head of the party opposed to Austria. He went so far as to enter into close alliance with the German Protestant Union. It was in pursuance of this line of policy that, of the various suitors for the hand of Elizabeth, the one preferred was Frederick V., Elector Palatine, closely connected with the leaders of the Protestants both in Holland and in France. And a further step in the same direction was the intended marriage of Prince Henry with the second daughter of Henry IV. It was apparently intended that she should be brought up a Protestant, but on the very day that the question of the marriage was to be decided, the young Prince was taken ill with a mortal disease. The gravity and energy of his character, the adventurous and eager spirit which he showed, and the language he was in the habit of holding with regard to his duties as King, led men to believe that he would, had he lived, have rendered his reign stirring and important; it was not unlikely that he would have followed the wishes of the more eager part of the nation, and have plunged vigorously into the Thirty Years' War. It may have been a desire to strengthen his position in England that made James so eager to find marriages for his children. Already, before the French match was proposed, he had been treating both with Spain and Savoy on the same point. Certainly he appears to have been conscious that his claims to the throne were not wholly unquestioned. It is only by this supposition that we can explain the severity of his conduct to the Lady Arabella Stuart. She had secretly married William Seymour, the son of Lord Beauchamp. Both husband and

Death of Prince Henry. Nov. 6, 1612.

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wife were descended from Henry VII. The alliance excited James's jealousy. They were both placed in custody. Arabella Stuart escaped from Highgate in male dress, and got on board a French ship in the river. There she was to have been joined by Seymour, who had escaped from the Tower. The French vessel, however, sailed without him, and was captured off the Nore, and Arabella was confined in the Tower for the rest of her life. She died mad four years afterwards. Seymour escaped to the Continent.

Imprisonment of Arabella Stuart. 1611.

The death of Cecil and of Prince Henry left James more completely at liberty to follow the bent of his own character, and henceforward the Government fell into the hands of worthless favourites. The first of these was Robert Carr, for whom the King acquired a peculiar affection while he was lying wounded from an accident at a tournament. Carr had been his page in Scotland, and the King, feeling a natural interest in him, visited him, and fell in love with his beauty. Carr was skilful enough to take advantage of this affection. "The King," says Harrington in his "Nugæ Antiquæ," "leaneth on his arm, pinches his cheek, and smoothes his ruffled garments;" while the young man "hath changed his tailor entirely many times, and all to please the Prince." Already, before the death of Cecil, the presents he received to win the King's favour had made his fortune. His royal lover had made him Earl of Rochester and Knight of the Garter. The death of Cecil threw open a career for his ambition. The Court was divided between the factions of the young favourite and the two Howards, Earls of Suffolk and Northampton. The distribution of places was left incomplete for a year, but during that time Rochester transacted the whole public business. The feud was at length healed by the marriage of Rochester with Frances Howard, the daughter of Lord Suffolk, till lately Countess of Essex; and upon the death of the other Howard (the Earl of Northampton) Suffolk became Lord Chancellor, while Rochester succeeded him as Chamberlain, with the duties also of Lord Privy Seal.

The first favourite, Robert Carr.

The marriage, which thus secured the favourite (who had by this time been made Earl of Somerset) his position in the ministry, was the cause of his ruin. All the events that had accompanied that marriage had been mean and scandalous. Frances Howard had been married in her childhood to Lord Essex, and an intrigue had for some time existed between her and Somerset.

His marriage and disgrace.

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Her father, privy to this intrigue, for the sake of gaining the favour of the favourite had basely recommended a divorce from Essex on the most indelicate ground. The King himself had used all his influence to procure it. Worse than that, the lady, finding herself opposed by the advice of Sir Thomas Overbury, who was Somerset's chief adviser, had procured the imprisonment and subsequent murder of that gentleman, a murder in which it is pretty certain that Somerset had borne a share. In another way events had turned out unfavourably for Somerset. On the death of Northampton there had been a rush for office, and the King, to fill his coffers, had put vacant places up for sale, and thus George Villiers, a gentleman of Leicestershire, had been able to purchase the office of cupbearer. The overbearing character of Somerset had secured him many enemies. While his alliance with the Howards gave just cause of apprehension to the Puritan party; he had acted so entirely as the minister and adviser of the Crown that the counsellors felt themselves virtually put aside. They therefore fixed upon young Villiers—who at that time showed signs of an amiable and pliant disposition, and was as good-looking and more courtier-like than Somerset—to supplant him, and persuaded Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was Puritanic in his tendencies, to use his influence with the Queen to induce her to recommend the new favourite. The King was speedily caught by his beauty, and he rose rapidly in favour. But something was wanted to complete the overthrow of Somerset, and this was found in the circumstances attending his marriage. Elwes, Lieutenant of the Tower, desirous of obtaining the favour of Winwood, the Secretary of State, divulged to him the suspicious circumstances attending Overbury's death. James, weary of his old friend, and longing for his new one, allowed the matter to be carried forward; and, with detestable double-dealing, suffered Somerset to be apprehended in his very presence, while he was still lavishing on him his usual repulsive tokens of affection. It is needless to follow the details of the nauseous story. There was sufficient proof that the Countess had employed a certain Mrs. Turner to supply poisons for the destruction of Overbury. The lesser agents were condemned and executed. An unsolved mystery hangs over the rest of the story. Both the Earl and Countess were found guilty. The Countess indeed confessed her crime, but the Earl not only refused to acknowledge his guilt, but threatened James with certain revelations if the charge were pressed. What those were was never known;

The second favourite, Villiers. 1615.

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but that he held the King in his power was very plain, for James showed every sign of fear, and finally both the chief actors in the tragedy were pardoned. Somerset's enemies had, however, obtained their object, and from this time forward the destiny of England was in the hands of Villiers.

The reign of James had in fact entered into a second period at the death of Cecil. The government of statesmen had given place to that of favourites. The same phenomenon was to be observed both in France and Spain, and the consequence was a general want of determined outline in the foreign policy of the three countries. In England all high national policy, all idea of assuming vigorously and in arms the leadership of the Protestant party, entirely disappeared. Even Cecil had been averse to a war with Spain if it could be honourably avoided. But now James and his favourites desired peace at any price, and sought that peace by entering into very friendly relations with Spain. James was always strongly attracted by the thoroughness of the monarchical institutions of Spain, and hoped by close alliance with that country, and at the same time by keeping up his relations with the Protestant powers of Germany, to be able to play the part of peace-maker in Europe. Lerma, the Spanish prime minister, had somewhat similar views. He believed that Spain had need of rest, and that its position would be best secured by marriage treaties with the nations most likely to be hostile to it, namely, France and England. When then, after the death of Prince Henry, negotiations with France for the substitution of Charles in his brother's place as the husband of the French Princess Christine came to nothing, the Spanish Government suggested a marriage between Prince Charles and the Infanta Mary, daughter of Philip III. Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, in intimate relation both with Rochester and Villiers, obtained by his ready wit and social character much influence with the King, and the Spanish match thus became a fixed idea in his mind, for which he was willing to make great concessions.

Consequent degradation of English politics.

It is impossible not to connect the peaceful policy of the King and his favourites with their position at home. James had never liked the necessity of summoning Parliaments. His wishes had been more than once thwarted by them, and the language used in 1609 by no means harmonized with his own view of his prerogative. An attempt to produce a more docile assembly in 1614 was singularly unsuccessful. Certain members of Parliament, who thought they understood the temper of the Commons,

The Addled Parliament. 1614.

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undertook to manage that House for the King. They were spoken of at Court as the Undertakers. Both the fact and the title became known, and the attempt at indirect influence was not calculated to improve the temper of the Commons. They at once proceeded to their old grievances, especially discussing the legality of the impositions (as the additions to the customs were called) and of monopolies. In anger at the total failure of his scheme, James hurriedly dissolved the Parliament before it had completed a single piece of business. The humour of the time christened this futile Parliament "The Addled Parliament." With these experiences, neither the King nor his friends wished to be driven to the necessity of again appealing to the Commons. But such an appeal would have been inevitable to supply the money necessary for a war. For seven years, therefore, between 1614 and 1621, there was no Parliament summoned; and the King devoted all his skill in statecraft, of which he was inordinately proud, to the maintenance of peace in Europe.

During the ministry of Cecil, encroachments on the right of self-taxation had been common enough, yet, on the whole, constitutional means of raising money had been chiefly employed. These now gave way to illegal means. The cautionary towns, which the Dutch had lodged in the hands of the English as security for the money Elizabeth had advanced, were resold at about a third of their value. Free gifts were demanded from the nobility. Benevolences were collected, some of which appear never to have been repaid. Money was raised by writs under the Privy Seal. Patents and monopolies were multiplied, and finally peerages below earldoms were publicly sold.

The growing attachment between the King and Spain was not regarded favourably by the nation. It speedily produced effects which excited much angry feeling. In the first place, it was impossible for the King to carry out his foreign policy without granting considerable concessions to the Catholics; he was obliged, in order to gain credit with the Spaniards, to allow the sharpest of the persecuting laws to remain in abeyance. And again the popular voice accused him of meanly truckling to Spain in his treatment of Raleigh.

Weary with his imprisonment, Raleigh had at length found means to gain his freedom by judicious bribery of the family of Villiers, and by mentioning to Winwood, the Secretary, his belief that he could, if allowed to command a fleet, open a mine on the Orinoco river first discovered by Captain Keymis in 1596. To secure this prize, James granted him liberty,

Raleigh's last voyage to Guiana. 1617.

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and put him in command of several ships; but, to please the Spaniards, gave him strict instructions not in any way to come to hostilities with them. He seems also to have placed the whole plan of the expedition in the hands of his intimate Gondomar, by whom it was at once forwarded to the Spanish Court and thence to South America, so that on Raleigh's arrival at the river full preparations had been made to receive him. The consequence was an inevitable collision. Raleigh had arrived with forces much weakened by disease, and himself in a high fever. The expedition he sent up to discover the mine was attacked by the Spaniards; it in turn assaulted and took the town of St. Thomas, where Raleigh's son was killed. The expedition proceeded further upwards under the command of Captain Keymis, but there were such signs of preparation and opposition everywhere that that commander thought it more prudent to retire. Among the spoils taken at St. Thomas were the despatches, which disclosed the King's treachery; and, excited by the failure of his plans, by the loss of his much-loved son, and by the gloomy prospects which these despatches opened before him, Raleigh censured Keymis so sharply that in despair he killed himself. Thoroughly disheartened, and aware of what was awaiting him, Raleigh returned home. He there found his Spanish enemies ready for him. He was at once apprehended, and, by a strange stretch of law, the old attainder of thirteen years before was revived against him; and though he justly argued that public service, with the right of life and death, had condoned his previous offence, the disappointment of James and the vengeance of Gondomar was too strong for him, he was condemned and executed. In prison, by his "History of the World," and by his chemical studies, he had given proof of powers with which the world had before scarcely credited him; and now the death of so eminent a man caused bitter anger among the people, who regarded him, and justly, as a victim of Spanish intrigue.

His execution. 1618.

At length, in the year 1618, it seemed as if James's policy of mediation could no longer be pursued. Questions in which he was deeply interested had arisen in Germany. Protestantism had spread widely through the dominions of the house of Austria. Matthias, the reigning Emperor, had in his youth supported that religion. But the Catholic reaction, which, under the influence of the Jesuits, had been making its way in Europe, had laid hold especially of the higher ranks and of the younger men. Pre-eminent as its champions were the Duke of Bavaria, the head of the Catholic League, and Ferdinand of Gratz, a

Beginning of the Thirty Years' War. 1618.

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member of the younger branch of the Austrian house. Afraid of the democratic tendencies of the Reformers, which he knew by his own previous experience, Matthias, as he grew older, changed his policy, and when seeking for a successor, chose this Ferdinand of Gratz, in whose favour he induced the other Austrian Princes to renounce their claims. The kingdom of Bohemia was at once elective and hereditary. Ferdinand assumed by this double title the position of future king; although it was understood that he was bound not to interfere in the government, a change in the character of the administration became at once visible. Irritated by the destruction of some churches, which they believed they had had a right to build, the Bohemian Protestants rose under Count Thurm, stormed the Council Chamber at Prague, threw two obnoxious ministers out of the window, and, in conjunction with Silesia, Moravia, and Hungary, formed a vast insurrection, which was pressing victoriously onward when Matthias died. The insurgents sought assistance from the Protestant Princes. Ferdinand, the new King, called in the help of Spain, while his own dominions were still in danger. He succeeded in getting himself elected at Frankfort Emperor of Germany, and almost at the same time the crown of Bohemia was offered to the Elector Palatine; for the Protestants declared that the throne of that country was entirely elective, and refused therefore to give it to Ferdinand as the heir of Matthias. The Elector at once consulted his father-in-law; in fact, it depended upon James whether the throne should be accepted or not. But the desire of family aggrandizement on the one side, and the dread of touching the hereditary right of princes on the other, together with his generally wavering policy, induced him to give a perfectly equivocal answer. The general impression was that he meant to support the Elector, who therefore accepted the throne. In October 1619 he was crowned. The contest gradually assumed the proportions of a general religious war, and excited violent enthusiasm in England. The Protestant party, though numerically powerful, were politically weakened by various causes, such as the dislike which existed between the Lutherans and Calvinists, the jealousy of the rising power of the Elector Palatine felt by Saxony, which had hitherto been the chief Protestant State of Germany, and finally the neutrality of France, on which country the Reforming Princes of Germany had formerly relied, but which had now fallen under Spanish influence during the regency of Mary de Medici. The undecided conduct of James, who should have been their head, completed the weakness of the party; while, on the

Sympathy in England for the Protestant side.

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other hand, Spain contrived to keep together the whole power of her house and the friendship of her chief allies. With regard to his son-in-law, James had refused to interfere in the main issue, as he himself said, "for conscience, because it was unlawful to dethrone a king on religious grounds; for honour, because the Elector had sought, but not followed his advice; for example, because he liked not that subjects should dethrone their king." But he consented to send a small and inefficient army for the protection of Frederick's hereditary dominions. His real policy, however, rested upon the hope, which nothing but an overweening belief in his own position could have inspired, that, once allied with Spain, that country would join with him in mediating a peace. He thus looked calmly on, busied in his idle negotiations, while the battle of Prague drove the Elector from his new-won kingdom, and the Spanish army, under Spinola, possessed itself step by step of the Palatinate.

But James refuses to interfere.

It nevertheless seemed to him desirable to turn the popular excitement to account; he therefore summoned a Parliament, hoping that it would grant him supplies for the defence of his son-in-law's dominions, and that the visible agreement between himself and his people would improve his position with regard to Spain. His expectations were not answered, though in his opening speech he apologized for his conduct to his last Parliament. "In my last Parliament," said he, "there was a kind of beast called undertakers, a dozen of whom undertook to govern my Parliament, and they led me." The Commons would not be enticed away from their chief object. Two subsidies were indeed granted, but the House then at once proceeded to draw up a petition against any alleviation of the penal laws against Catholics. Under the direction of Sir Edward Coke they then proceeded to attack the chief monopolists, Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Mitchell, not only because monopolies were in themselves odious, but because they denied the power of the Crown to grant them. They flew even at higher game, and Lord Bacon, who had been Lord Chancellor since 1617, with the title first of Lord Verulam, and afterwards of Lord St. Albans, was impeached for taking bribes. It was not the love of judicial purity alone which urged the Commons. Throughout the quarrel between the equity courts and the common law courts, which, as we have seen, involved the question of royal prerogative, Bacon had systematically upheld the royal claims. This conduct had been dictated, not probably by a

Takes advantage of the popular feeling to call a Parliament. 1621.

Their time spent in the impeachment of Bacon.

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mean love of power, but from an opinion that constitutional questions require to be judged from a higher and more political point of view than that afforded by technical law, and that that point of view was more likely to be occupied by the Chancellor, who was a great political officer, than by the judges, who were mere lawyers. The charges against him, which were very heavy, were unfortunately but too well grounded, no less than twenty-two instances in which he had received bribes were fully made out. He pleaded guilty—only alleging in excuse that the course of justice had never been influenced by them—was removed from his office, and heavily fined. Having finished these domestic questions, the House was proceeding to take note of foreign affairs. But its view was very different from that of the King; it was desirous that the country should act immediately and energetically in the interests of the Protestants abroad. The King regarded the discussion of international relations as trenching on his prerogative, and adjourned the House. During the recess he did not improve his position with regard to the Commons. He indeed reformed some abuses, but he did this by proclamation, one of those assertions of prerogative of which they were very jealous. He issued a second proclamation, forbidding all men to speak of state affairs. He appointed Williams, a clergyman whom he raised to the rank of Bishop of Lincoln, and who was a creature of Buckingham's, to the position of Lord Keeper, while the futility of his negotiations became evident when the Palatinate was transferred to the Elector of Bavaria. The Parliament therefore when it met in November was more angry than before. It renewed its protest against priests and Jesuits, and begged that the Prince might be married to a Protestant. A long and angry dispute ensued, which terminated in a strong protest, in which the Commons declared that their privileges were not the gift of the Crown but the natural birthright of English subjects, and that matters of public interest were within their province. This protest so angered the King that he tore it from the record with his own hand, and at once dissolved the Parliament. The dissolution was followed by the usual acts of vengeance. The most prominent of the opposition, the Lords Oxford and Southampton, with the Commoners Philip, Pym, Coke, and Malary, were imprisoned.

James's behaviour during the recess.

makes them more angry. They protest against priests.

Parliament dissolved in anger. Jan. 1622.

The old course was then pursued. Digby, afterwards Lord Bristol, was sent on the death of Philip III. to conclude, if possible, the Spanish match, and nothing of importance was done for the Palatinate. But at the same time it was

Negotiations for Spanish match continued.

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evident, that while English troops were garrisoning the fortresses there, and the troops of the League were gradually conquering the province, the completion of the match would be impossible. James insisted on the restoration of his son-in-law's dominions as a necessary preliminary to the marriage. He promised that if that step were taken he would himself join his troops with the Spaniards against their enemies. But while trusting to these idle negotiations, the troops of the League were gradually driving the English from all their strong posts; and upon the King's complaints, he was told that this conquest was in fact necessary before the Palatinate could be restored. It was then that, rather than give up the match entirely, the King, Prince, and Buckingham, hit upon the strange expedient of a personal visit on the part of Charles to the Court of Spain. For some time all went well; they met with a most flattering reception, and articles securing the perfect freedom of worship for the Infanta, together with the custody of her children till the age of ten, and a private promise that the worship of the Catholics should be tolerated at least in their own houses, were accepted, and sworn to both by King and Prince. But the behaviour of Buckingham, now raised to the rank of Duke, and as the Spaniards thought indecorously familiar with the Prince, rendered him very distasteful at Madrid. Besides this, he quarrelled completely with Olivarez, the all-powerful minister. He determined to break off the match, to secure which Bristol, the authorized ambassador, was in the meanwhile using his best endeavours. Afraid of that nobleman's influence in England, he returned thither, and persuaded the King to introduce what had hitherto not been mentioned, a clause in the treaty securing the Palatinate. The production of this new claim, after the preparations for the marriage had already been made, was regarded by the Spanish King as such an insult that he refused to proceed any further in the matter.

Charles and Buckingham go to Spain. 1623.

The match broken off.

Buckingham at once rose to a high place in the popular esteem. He was credited with all virtues for having broken off the hated alliance. He allied himself with all the popular leaders, and at his instigation a new Parliament was summoned. He appeared before both Houses with the Prince standing by his side to support his story, and there gave his version of what had happened in Madrid. Although Bristol's friends and the Spanish ambassador accused him of want of veracity in his account, the Parliament believed him. The policy of Government was suddenly changed. A match was set on foot between Charles and

Buckingham's popularity.

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the French Princess Henrietta Maria. The Parliament voted fresh subsidies and three-fifteenths, and Mansfeld, the Protestant general, was allowed to raise 12,000 troops in England. In the midst of this sudden change of scene, and while the marriage was yet uncompleted, James died.

Death of James. 1625.

In following the course of English history it must not be forgotten that the King of England was now King also of Scotland and of Ireland. In both those countries events of some importance had happened during the reign. In Ireland James had shown some of that political wisdom which was mingled so strangely with his folly; in his own country he had acted as foolishly and as arbitrarily as in England. Enamoured of the Church of England, which had so readily accepted his claims to Divine right, and had received him in so humble a spirit, he had adopted the maxim, "no Bishop, no King." He determined, therefore, to introduce Episcopacy into Scotland. As early as 1606, he had induced the Estates to order the restoration of Bishops. At first this made little practical difference. The Bishops worked only as parish priests in the diocese to which they were appointed. In 1610, the Church was re-organized, but even then the Presbyterian system was in a great degree preserved. The General Assembly of the Church was allowed to exist, but distinctly under the authorization of the Crown. Provincial synods were also continued, but the Bishops became their permanent presidents. It was observed, also, that there was no room left for the lesser assemblies, called presbyteries. Matters which had hitherto been in their hands were now referred to the Bishops. In this mitigated form, Episcopacy was, in 1612, authorized by the Estates. The real difficulty which met the King was the endowment of the bishoprics. The Church property had been secularized, and could not be regained from the lay-holders. For many years the Bishops continually complained of their poverty. It was not till the year 1616, when James visited Scotland in person, that the full meaning of the change became obvious. The eyes of the citizens of Edinburgh were then shocked by the ornaments lavished on the Chapel of Holyrood, and the performances of the showy ceremonies of the English Church. Deans and chapters were also re-established. Bishops were ordered henceforward to be re-elected in the English fashion, by a royal *congé d'élire*, and the law was brought in, asserting that "whatsoever his Majesty should determine in the external government of the Church, by the advice

Scotland.

James tries to introduce Episcopacy. 1606.

Authorized by the Estates. 1612.

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of the Bishops and a competent number of ministers, should have the strength of law." The Presbyterians, who said "that this was like to cut the cords of the remanent liberties of their Kirk," protested, and the protesters were punished.

The King's assault upon the Presbyterian system was completed when, in 1621, the Estates ratified the Five Articles which had already been carried in the General Assembly at Perth. These Five Articles introduced innovations very distasteful to the Scotch. The Presbyterians, who had always given exclusive prominence to the social character of the Lord's Supper, regarding it as a meal to be taken in common, as a sign of communion, and who therefore received it sitting, were now obliged to receive it on their knees. It was also allowed to be given in private houses, which was again opposed to their view of its public and social nature. Private baptism was allowed, and that rite thus rendered a sort of process to be carried out between the priest and the person baptized, rather than the public reception by the Church of the baptized person. Episcopal confirmation was ordered, and what was perhaps the greatest grievance of all, especially when taken in connection with the recent relaxation of the observance of the Sabbath in England, the observance of the five great Church holydays was enjoined. It was not without much difficulty that obedience to these ordinances was obtained. The rising influence of Laud is visible in these enactments. As the King's chaplain, he had already succeeded in persuading James to accept the Arminian rather than the Calvinistic view of grace and free-will, although, earlier in his life, James had been so eager a Calvinist that he had persuaded the Dutch to persecute and expel their Arminian teachers, and had even, as late as 1618, been instrumental in securing the death of Barnevelt, the patriotic grand pensionary of Holland, for his heretical views. Before the close of the reign, Laud, at the instigation of Lord Keeper Williams, had been made Bishop of St. David's.

Anger excited by the Five Articles of Perth. 1621.

In Ireland the King had succeeded in a great degree in carrying out those plans of colonization in which Elizabeth had failed, and had planted or colonized with Scotch Protestants a considerable portion of the province of Ulster. This subject will be more fully mentioned, when Ireland comes more prominently forward, in the next reign.

Scotch colonies in Ireland.

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CHARLES I.

1625—1649.

Charles I. = Henrietta Maria of France.
Born 1600.

Charles II. | James II. | Henry, Duke of Gloucester. Born 1640. Died 1660. | Mary = William of Nassau. | Three other daughters.

William III.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

France.	*Germany.*	*Spain.*	*Denmark & Norway.*	*Sweden.*
Louis XIII., 1610.	Ferdinand II., 1619.	Philip IV., 1621.	Christian IV., 1588.	Gustavus Adolphus 1611.
Louis XIV. 1643.	Ferdinand III., 1637.		Frederick III., 1648.	Christina, 1632.

POPES.—Urban VIII., 1624. Innocent X., 1644.

Archbishops.	*Chancellors.*
George Abbot, 1611.	Sir Thomas Coventry, 1625.
William Laud, 1633-1645.	Sir John Finch, 1640.
Vacancy for fourteen years.	Sir Edward Littleton, 1641.
	Sir Richard Lane, 1645.

THE accession of Charles I. was regarded by his contemporaries with joy and hope. The late change of policy, which he and his favourite had been chiefly instrumental in producing, was highly popular in the country, and it was believed that changes of the same character would take place in other branches of the Government. This was a mistake. His accession in fact did not in any sense form the beginning of a new period, and the history of his reign is but a continuation of that of his father. The interests are identical, but strengthened and exaggerated. This is due principally to the character of the King. The king-craft on which he prided himself had at all events taught

Characters of James and Charles compared.

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James the necessity of occasional pliancy. It is true that his total misapprehension of the character of the English sovereignty rendered his views of domestic government fundamentally false; while, from his mistaken belief in the power of Spain, and in the excellence of strong monarchical government, his foreign policy was constantly erroneous. But for all that his was not the character to irritate wilfully. On the other hand, Charles had been bred in the same school and imbibed the same ideas, but was wanting in that experience of the danger of popular opposition which James's youth had given him. He relied no less completely upon the advice of the shallow and impulsive Buckingham; but behind this apparent surrender of his will, he was possessed of an obstinacy which prevented him from making those prudent concessions which the temper of the times rendered necessary. Sir Ferdinand Fairfax gives the popular view of this defect when he says, "The King is in his own nature very stiff." Consequently, while the same abuses were perpetuated, the opposition to them met with a far stronger obstacle than in the preceding reign. The jar was proportionately stronger, and parties more embittered. It will be seen, in fact, that in the three first years of his reign Charles had succeeded in putting every branch of the nation—the Lords, the Commons, and the Church—in an attitude of hostility.

Consequent hostility of the nation.

We must be careful to recollect that the House of Commons, with which the King at first quarrelled, was not in any sense a popular one. It consisted of wealthy and powerful gentry, and of great lawyers, whose knowledge of constitutional precedent rendered them the natural and formidable opponents of the encroachments of the Crown. The changes of the last century, especially the freedom with which property was alienated, and the commercial wealth which followed on the new life of the Renaissance, had filled England with wealthy and independent gentlemen, among whom the old aristocratic spirit of liberty, no longer existing in the new Court nobility, had found a home. It is from this class that the representatives of the people were chosen, and against this spirit that the King had first to struggle.

Character of the House of Commons.

There is another point to be borne in mind if we would understand the importance of the coming contest. It was in Parliament alone that any successful opposition to the Crown could be attempted. The character of the government of the Tudors had vastly increased the power of the executive. This is an essential part of that system of popular absolutism which

Nothing to restrain the King but the Parliament.

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they had established, and may be illustrated by the state of France during the Second Empire. The only hold which the nation had upon the action of the Crown was the Parliamentary power of granting supplies. In no other way, short of armed insurrection, could the royal power be withstood. The events of the two last reigns had rendered the national feeling intensely Protestant. Apart from their fear of loss of liberty at home, there was no point on which the whole body of the people felt so strongly as religion. In their own country this feeling was exhibited in the stringent laws enacted against Roman Catholics, and in the popular jealousy of any mitigation of them. Abroad, it was shown in the sympathy which was felt for the Protestant cause, at that time in danger of absolute ruin from the Catholic successes in the European war. It was mainly as a step against Catholicism, and as a blow to Spain, which was regarded as the head of Catholicism, that the French match had been hailed in England with such joy. The opposition of Richelieu, the great French minister, to the Austrian house was already understood; the purely political character of that opposition was not yet known.

Protestant feelings of the country.

The position of affairs abroad was indeed such as to excite the gravest apprehensions. After his great defeat at the battle of the White Mountain in 1620, Frederick, the Elector Palatine and nominal King of Bohemia, had trusted his affairs to three generals—Mansfeld, the Margrave of Baden, and Christian of Brunswick. The attempts of these generals to carry the war into the south or Catholic part of Germany had met with the worst success. Baden, in attempting to enter Bavaria, had been defeated at Wimpfen; Christian of Brunswick had crossed the river Main, only to be defeated at Höchst; Mansfeld's army was alone left. In these disastrous circumstances Frederick had trusted himself to the foolish advice of his father-in-law. James, always blinded by trust in his own diplomatic skill and in the good intentions of Spain, advised him to dismiss his troops. Thus Mansfeld and Christian found themselves masterless, and in the position of land pirates. They sought and found a refuge in the service of the Dutch, but were constantly kept in check by the skill of the Imperial General Tilly. These victories, and the Treaty of Niclasburg (1622), which relieved Austria from all pressure from Hungary, enabled the Emperor so to dominate Germany that he secured the transference of the Palatinate and the Electorship from Frederick to the Duke of Bavaria (the head of the Roman Catholic League). At the same time he bribed Saxony,

Position of foreign affairs.

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the chief of the Protestant powers, with the gift of the Province of Lusatia, and when the Huguenot insurrection in France was closed by the Treaty of Montpellier, there was extreme danger that the Protestant religion would be virtually annihilated.

Danger of the Protestant cause.

It was at this crisis that Richelieu appears on the scene. Under his influence a great League was formed, embracing Holland, Denmark, Venice and Savoy. To this League England was added, the price of its adherence being the French match. The parts the different nations had to play were accurately marked out. To England was given the war upon the sea coasts; to Holland, India; to Venice and Savoy, Italy; to the Northern Protestants, Germany; while Richelieu kept for himself the Valteline, a little strip of country terminating at the northern end of the Lake of Como, which formed the only road between the Austrian dominions north and south of the Alps, and the possession of which would go far to paralyze the power of that house. Of all this vast plan the French part alone took effect. Satisfied with the possession of the Valteline, and with the blow he had thus dealt to the Austrians, Richelieu suddenly concluded the Treaty of Monçon in 1626. Already, in the preceding year, Christian IV. of Denmark had undertaken the defence of the Northern German Protestants, and in 1626 suffered a disastrous and final defeat at the hands of Tilly at the battle of Lutter. It was the Protestants themselves who were chiefly to blame for the sudden collapse of Richelieu's plan. Absolutely careless of political considerations, and thinking only of their own selfish interests, the French Huguenots, who were closely connected with the great turbulent French nobles, had taken the opportunity of foreign war to renew their insurrection. The eyes of Richelieu were open to the fact that unity at home was necessary for powerful action abroad.

Richelieu forms the League.

Treaty of Monçon.

It was just while Richelieu was making his great League, and seeking, as has been said, the co-operation of England, that the French match had been entered into. To the English it had first appeared a pledge of a consistent Protestant policy. But no such idea existed in the minds of either Charles or Buckingham; with them it was a mere whim, an act of spiteful insult to the Spanish Court, and nothing more. To Richelieu it was a political bargain without reference to religion. Its true character was soon displayed, and the disappointment of the English was proportionate to their hopes. It was soon known that the terms of the marriage-treaty

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were almost identical with those of the proposed Spanish marriage and at least equally favourable to the Roman Catholics. The consummation of the marriage therefore, accompanied with the installation in the palace of the whole apparatus of Roman Catholic worship, dealt a heavy blow to Buckingham's new-born popularity, and excited the jealousy of the Protestants, which was still further augmented by an evident tendency towards toleration on the part of the Court. Again, not only had favour been shown to the Catholics, as an instance of which may be mentioned the pardoning of twenty priests, but the tone of the Court had become Arminian. Though the point at issue between Arminius and Gomar, his opponent in Holland, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was of a very abstruse nature, and not calculated in itself to produce much practical result, the Calvinistic Puritans of England held, and held rightly, that the attack of Arminius upon their doctrine of absolute predestination would soon lead to other deviations from their doctrine and discipline. As a fact, in England the Arminians were much less bitter against the Roman Catholics, admitting that, but for the temporal claims of the Pope, there was but little to separate them. They were also admirers of the more pompous and showy worship of the English Church, and, to crown all, in most cases, strong upholders of the Divine right of kings. An instance of these tendencies had lately been given by Dr. Montague, one of the royal chaplains, in a tract called "An Appeal to Cæsar."

Unpopularity of the French match.

Arminian character of the Court religion.

At the same time, Buckingham was the object of a strong opposition in the Council. Bristol had felt keenly the Duke's conduct to him with regard to the Spanish match, and a large party of the Lords, headed by the Earl of Pembroke, joined in his feelings of enmity towards him. The popularity therefore of Buckingham and the King had almost disappeared before the first Parliament, which assembled on June 18, came together. The Commons already felt considerable mistrust of the honesty of the Court and of their change of policy—a mistrust which the slowness with which the preparations for the promised war with Spain had been carried on tended to increase. This mistrust at once showed itself in an attack upon the Arminian writings of Montague, backed by a petition for the more stringent execution of the laws against recusants, and assumed a still more formidable shape when the King's demands for supplies came before the House. The Commons were told that, besides the heavy debts of the late King, large

Dislike of Buckingham.

First Parliament. June 18.

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subsidies had been promised to the German Protestants, and a sum but little short of £1,000,000 was demanded from them. They only granted two subsidies,[1] which would amount to perhaps £150,000, and even went so far as to grant, for one year only, tonnage and poundage[2] (which, ever since Henry VI., had been granted for the King's life). The King was unwilling to receive it with this limitation, the proposition was therefore thrown out in the Lords, and the grant was not made at all. The King attempted to take the case of Montague into his own hands; and this matter and the grant of tonnage and poundage were still under discussion when an outbreak of the plague compelled the Parliament to adjourn to Oxford.

During the recess, an event happened which much increased the bitterness of the opposition. It seemed to change the indefinite suspicions which had existed, as to the purely political character of the French alliance, into a certainty. This event was the loan of eight ships to Richelieu to assist him in reducing La Rochelle, the stronghold of the French Protestants. Charles and Buckingham were indeed in an awkward position. To secure the match with France, they had promised to lend these ships to be used against any enemy of the Crown of France except the King of England, and they now found themselves compelled to risk their popularity by allowing them to serve against the Huguenots. They used their best efforts to put off the evil day, and it was not till news arrived that a peace had been made between Louis and the Protestants, that peremptory orders were issued to the English captains to surrender their ships. The anger of the crews was so great that they deserted, and the ships had to be manned by French soldiers. Great was the dismay of the King and Buckingham when they heard that the negotiations between Louis and his subjects had come to an end, and that the ships would after all be used against La Rochelle. It was thus after a complete failure of their policy, and with all the odium attaching to this unpopular act, that they had to meet the Parliament at its next session, which proved even more stormy than the

Loan of ships to Richelieu.

[1] A subsidy was 4s. on the pound on real property, and 2s. 8d. on the personal estates of £3 and upwards. Aliens and Popish recusants paid double this sum.

[2] Customs were the duties levied upon the staple commodities—wool, sheepskin, leather, and tin; these duties were granted in 3rd Edward I.; also duties upon woollen cloth, granted 21st Edward III. Tonnage and poundage was a tax varying from 1s. 6d. to 3s. upon every tun of wine or beer, and from 6d. to 1s. on every pound of merchandize imported or exported, except on the staple commodities. It was granted sometimes for a term of years, sometimes for life. It was originally given in 47th Edward III. Tonnage and poundage at this time was farmed for about £160,000 a year.

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preceding one. Discontented with the amount which had been granted, Charles asked for two subsidies and two-fifteenths more. His demand was met by a renewed petition against the Catholics, with an implied charge of insincerity against the King, who since the last occasion had granted a pardon to eleven Papists; and the debates were directed so plainly against Buckingham, charging him with maladministration of the war, and with the loan of the French ships, that the King thought it necessary to order the Duke to make an explanation of his conduct before the two Houses. In his explanation Buckingham seemed to imply that the King would be satisfied with a new grant of £40,000.

Parliament dissolved. Aug. 12.

But when it became evident, after several attempts to hurry supplies, that even the small sum thus demanded would not be granted till grievances were redressed, Charles thought it better to dissolve the Parliament.

The temper of the Parliament had been clearly shown in the last session. The King and Buckingham could not but see that a distinct and successful Protestant policy was the only thing that could render the Government tolerable to the nation. They resolved to strike a great blow for popularity. The expedition, the slowness and uncertainty of which had been one of the charges against Buckingham, was hastened forward. At the same time orders were given to disarm Popish recusants; and when the destination of the fleet was made public, it was found to be Cadiz. A grand attack was to be made upon Spain. But the same want of wisdom which pursued Charles through his life was already visible. These measures, in themselves popular, were rendered hateful by the way in which they were carried out. The necessary money was collected by the arbitrary and illegal use of demands under the Privy Seal; and when completed the fleet was intrusted, not to a trustworthy and popular officer, but, upon no grounds except favour, to Sir Edward Cecil, now Lord Wimbledon, a man universally acknowledged as unfit for the work. The consequence was a disastrous failure. Cadiz was reached, but the shipping, which might have been destroyed, was left unharmed, and the drunkenness of many of the men induced the commanders to re-embark the army in haste after the capture of one unimportant fort. The main object of the expedition had thus failed; but it was still possible to intercept the Plate fleet from the West Indies. By some carelessness it was suffered to pass unobserved, and after twenty days of futile watching, a fierce contagious disease compelled the fleet to return to England (Dec. 8), having done absolutely nothing.

In hope of popularity, a fleet sent to Cadiz.

Its complete failure.

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The King had promised to summon a new Parliament quickly, and the state of the finances rendered the step necessary. On the 26th of February 1626, the second Parliament met. It was in no good temper, and the foolish means taken by the King to weaken the opposition were not likely to soothe it. When the list of those gentlemen who were fitted for the office of Sheriff was presented to him according to custom, he pricked[1] off the names of those who had been the leaders of the opposition in the last Parliament, including Sir Edward Coke and Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Lord Strafford. As the office of Sheriff prevented its holder from sitting in Parliament, he thought thus to rid himself of his chief enemies. Coke indeed disputed this view of the Sheriff's duties, and was elected for another county; but neither he, nor any of the other Sheriffs, appear to have sat in Parliament.[2] The Parliament at once proceeded to appoint three great Committees—one for Religion, one for Grievances, and the third for Evils and their remedies. It was again against Montague that the Committee on Religion was pointed, and the King, finding himself unable to protect his chaplain, allowed him to be proceeded against and punished by the Commons. The Committee of Grievances found no difficulty in drawing up a formidable list. At the head stood illegal taxation. The expenses of Government had formerly, they said, been met by regular taxes granted by Parliament, by subsidies and fifteenths, by tonnage and poundage, by customs, according to a rate fixed from time immemorial, and by an occasional loan. But now, loans were raised arbitrarily under the Privy Seal; tonnage and poundage was collected, although not granted by Parliament; the customs were largely increased according to a new book of rates established by James I.; while the money thus illegally collected was wasted by the bad management of the Council of War, and produced nothing but loss of honour.

Second Parliament. Feb. 26, 1626.

Appoints three Committees.

Meanwhile, the King was waiting anxiously for his supplies. His spokesman in the House said, "His Majesty desires me to tell you he wishes to know, without further delaying of time, what supplies you will give for his present occasion." The answer he received was a list of grievances to be remedied. The King replied in anger, "I will be willing to hear your

Charles's irritating speeches.

[1] The King completes the election of Sheriffs by pricking the parchment opposite the names of the gentlemen eligible for the office.

[2] Rushworth gives a speech of Sir T. Wentworth in this Parliament; he must have confused Sir Thomas Wentworth and Mr. Wentworth.

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grievances, as my predecessors have been, so that you will apply yourselves to redress grievances, and not to inquire after grievances. I must let you know that I will not let any of my servants be questioned by you; much less such as are of eminent place and near to me. I see you specially aim at the Duke of Buckingham. I would you would hasten for my supply, or else it will be worse for yourselves, for if any ill happen I think I shall be the last to feel it." This threat produced the very thing it was intended to avoid. Dr. Turner rose and proposed six questions, aimed against the mismanagement of the Duke, and resting upon common fame. It was questioned whether common fame was ground sufficient for a charge, but the great lawyers, especially Selden, held that no other evidence was possible in settling the preliminary question whether an impeachment was desirable. Upon this the Commons determined upon the impeachment, and resolved to "proceed to the great affair of Buckingham, morning and afternoon, till it was done, to the end that they might proceed to consider his Majesty's demand for supply." The threatened assault was met by Buckingham by a counter attack on the Earl of Bristol, whom he knew would be the chief witness against him.

Impeachment of Buckingham.

Again the folly of the King ruined his hopes of success. The Lords, before whom the trial must ultimately come on, might have been supposed well affected to the King. He had taken measures to make them his enemies. Not only had he, from the moment of Bristol's arrival in England, kept him in confinement, he had also refused to send him his usual writ of summons to this Parliament. Of this Bristol had complained. The writ had then been sent, accompanied by a private letter, forbidding his attendance. The whole correspondence was placed before the House. Again, for some private matter, the King had issued his own warrant, and imprisoned Arundel, the Earl Marshal, an avowed enemy of Buckingham, and the holder of no less than six proxies in the House. The Lords had voted this a breach of privilege, and, after a quarrel of three months, obliged the King to restore the Earl to liberty.

With its dignity thus offended, the House was not inclined to listen to Charles's representations on behalf of his favourite. It ruled that the charge against Buckingham should be first heard, and then that against Bristol, and also permitted Bristol to be heard by counsel, which the King had refused to allow. On the 8th of May the impeachment took place. The chief speakers on the side of the Commons were Sir Dudley Digges and

Charges against Buckingham.

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Sir John Elliot. The charges were, that Buckingham had mismanaged the revenue, bought and sold offices, lent ships to France to the detriment of the Protestant religion, and finally had poisoned the late King. The last charge was entirely frivolous, and, as it threw an implied blame upon Charles, marks the extreme animosity felt by the Commons. The speeches of Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Elliot, the latter of whom compared Buckingham to Sejanus, so enraged the King, that he at once apprehended them. Buckingham replied to the charge, and the Commons were preparing a rejoinder, when the King, after again trying to procure supplies by threats, determined at all events to save his favourite, and in spite of the remonstrances of the House of Lords, dissolved Parliament. He did not succeed in doing this quickly enough to prevent the Commons from drawing up a Remonstrance, so vigorous, that the King thought it necessary to have it publicly burnt.

Parliament dissolved to save him. June 15.

Two unsuccessful attempts at managing the Parliament made the King determined to try what he could do without one. From June 1626 to March 1628 the attempt was made. The conduct of public affairs during this interval was such as to supply the third Parliament, when it assembled, with a plentiful list of grievances. Money was an absolute necessity, and though the last Parliament had promised the King two subsidies and three-fifteenths, the promise was only provisional, and the grant never completed. All sorts of illegal means had therefore to be employed. Tonnage and poundage was collected under the Great Seal. Roman Catholic recusants were by law bound to pay monthly fines; in practice these had often been remitted; commissioners were now appointed to make arrangements with them, not exacting their fines to the full, but compounding for some immediate payment. From the City of London £150,000 was peremptorily demanded as a loan, and all the seaports in the country were ordered to supply ships. It was in vain that they pleaded precedents. They were met with the reply that they need not look for precedents, "the one precedent was obedience." Writs under the Privy Seal were largely issued for loans, and the soldiers and trainbands were called out and inspected, and billeted on the inhabitants. They were nominally under strict martial law, practically they pillaged mercilessly.

Money obtained by illegal means.

All this was done under the specious pretext that it was absolutely necessary to secure the country from an invasion. There were certainly no signs of any such invasion, but it was urged that the weakness shown by the ill success of the

under the pretext of an invasion.

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expedition to Cadiz could not but excite the Spaniards to reprisals. Another opportunity for still more extended operations shortly presented itself. Upon the defeat of the King of Denmark at the battle of Lutter (August 1626), a general loan was ordered. It was at the rate of cent. per cent. on landed property, though somewhat less upon goods. The instructions given to the judges upon whom the duty of collecting this loan devolved show the spirit in which it was levied. They were directed to choose their first victims from among those most likely to be frightened into paying; never to address themselves to bodies of men, to whom numbers might give courage, but to deal separately with each individual, and to send up to the Council the names of all those who refused to lend. It would seem plain, from this gathering of troops and money, that the idea had already entered into the minds of the King and his Court of ruling altogether without Parliament. This is rendered almost certain by the enlistment of a considerable body of German horse.

Attempt to govern without Parliament.

Nor were other signs wanting of the arbitrary tendencies of the Government. The Arminian and High Church clergy began to speak quite openly. In the course of 1627, sermons were preached advocating the absolute prerogative of the King in the plainest language. Thus Dr. Sibthorpe, preaching on the text "Render therefore to all their dues," asserted that "the Prince doth whatsoever pleaseth him. If princes command anything which subjects may not perform because it is against the laws of God or nature, or impossible, yet subjects are bound to undergo the punishment without either resistance or railing, and so to yield a passive obedience where they cannot exhibit an active one." This Sibthorpe was the cause of the disgrace of two important clergymen. He brought information against Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, for allowing Puritans in his diocese; and Abbot, the Archbishop, fell into disfavour for refusing to license the sermon above quoted, a duty which Laud, at that time Bishop of Bath and Wells, and who was now rising in importance, performed for him. Again, Dr. Manwaring preached that "the King is not bound to observe the laws of the realm concerning the subject's rights and liberties, but that his royal will and command in imposing loans and taxes without common consent in Parliament doth oblige the subject's conscience on pain of eternal damnation." No wonder such doctrines as these from the pulpit excited uneasiness. Nor was the dread of the reintroduction of Catholicism so absurd as

Arminian preaching. Dr. Sibthorpe's sermon. 1627.

Dr. Manwaring's sermon.

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it now seems. A reaction had set in throughout Europe, supported by the great successes of the imperial arms under Wallenstein and Tilly. In every instance that reaction had sprung from very small beginnings, and been carried out by the Jesuits. There was every appearance of the same process having been begun in England. The Queen's chapels were constantly crowded. It was becoming a fashionable thing to attend mass there. It seemed by no means improbable, especially in the presence of the growing High Church tendencies of the clergy, that the same success would attend the efforts of the Jesuits in England as abroad. On this point, however, we may fairly acquit Charles. He loved the High Church chiefly because it supported his prerogative, but he was firmly attached to the Church of England. At this very time he refused all applications for the increase of church room for the Catholics. "If the Queen's chapel was not big enough, she might hold her service in the hall. If the hall was not big enough, there was the park."

Danger of a Catholic reaction.

However, illegal taxation, the gathering of armed men, the apparent growth of Catholicism, and the open assertion of the doctrine of passive obedience, excited grave discontent. These discontents were brought to a head by the imprisonment of many important gentlemen who refused to pay the loan. The King was much incensed at their refusal. "None dare," we are told, "move the King on behalf of any gentleman refuser, for his heart is so inflamed in this business that he vows a perpetual remembrance as well as present punishment." The gentry who were apprehended were confined, some of them to certain districts, and others distributed among the prisons. The poorer class were ordered to assemble in London, and were thrust into the army.

Discontent increases.

Imprisonment of those who refused to pay the loan.

Five of the imprisoned gentlemen, Corbett, Darnell, Earle, Edward Hampden, and Heaveningham, demanded a writ of Habeas Corpus. This is a writ directed to the gaoler, ordering him to produce his prisoner for trial, and to state the cause of his detention. On this occasion, the return made to the writ stated no cause of imprisonment, alleging that the prisoners were detained by special command of the King, signified by warrant of the Privy Council. Upon this return the prisoners were produced, and the legality of their detention argued. The point at issue was a very important one. The right of every man to be tried when detained in prison rests on the 29th section of the Magna Charta: "No free man shall be taken and imprisoned unless by lawful judgment of his peers, or

Its legality questioned.

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the law of the land." This enactment had been frequently overruled by the King's Council, which claimed extraordinary powers, a grievance which was provided against in the 25th of Edward III.: "No one shall be taken by petition or suggestion to the King, unless it be by indictment or presentment, or by writ original at the common law." It seems, however, to have been unquestioned that the Privy Council were allowed to commit a man to prison, and the real point to be decided was, Were they not, like any other magistrate, bound to show cause for such committal? To this it was replied that these prisoners were committed by special command of the King, and that that altered the case. All old precedents led to the belief that it was impossible for the King to supersede law, yet the decision of the judges was in favour of the Crown. The authority on which the Chief-Justice, Sir Nicholas Hyde, rested, was a petition or declaration of the judges in the thirty-fourth year of Elizabeth, addressed to Hatton and Cecil, which seemed to imply that if the committal were made at the King's special command the ordinary course of law was overruled: "We think that if any person shall be committed by her Majesty's special commandment or by order from the Council Board, is good cause for the same Court (the King's Bench) to leave the said person in custody." The sentence being ungrammatical, is not very clear, but such as it is it formed the chief basis of a judgment which virtually annihilated one of the most important clauses of the great Charter.

Judges decide for the Crown.

While this great trial was pending, the money and troops which the King had collected had been employed. The expedition directed against a new enemy had been as disastrous as its predecessor. Not content with having a war with Spain upon his hands, as well as his domestic difficulties, Charles had plunged into a war with France, and sent a great armament against the Isle of Rhé.

War with France.

The junction between France and England had been a mere whim of Charles and Buckingham, but they had found that the hopes it held out of a Protestant policy had brought them popularity. Unable to understand the great views of Richelieu, the necessity under which he was of establishing domestic unity, and the importance to the general cause of Protestantism of united action, and bent solely upon the acquisition of popularity at home, the King and his Minister had been rapidly estranged from the French Court. The Treaty of Monçon, which appeared to them a desertion, gave the first blow to their friendship. Disappointed

Charles's reasons for helping the Huguenots.

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at the failure of the negotiations between Louis and the Protestants, which they had been mainly instrumental in setting on foot, and vexed at finding themselves after all compelled to bear the unpopularity which attended the loan of the ships, Charles and Buckingham had lent a willing ear to the persuasions of the Huguenot envoys. They had more than once interfered in no very conciliatory manner on behalf of the Protestants; and now, believing that an open support of that party would secure their immediate popularity, did not shrink from an entire reversal of their late policy. Private reasons made them the more ready to adopt this line of action. Buckingham quarrelled with Richelieu, as he had quarrelled with Olivarez, and is said to have insulted the French by his vanity in aspiring to the love of the Queen. Charles had found his wife's household so disagreeable, so inclined to make mischief between himself and his wife, and in their ostentatious Catholicism so repulsive to the nation, that he had felt himself compelled, after several stormy scenes, to drive them ignominiously from the country. The great fleet and army therefore, which was nominally intended for an attack upon the Algerines, directed its course towards La Rochelle. No step could have been devised more injurious to the Protestant interests; it drove France and Spain for the moment to lay aside their enmity, and to join to uphold the Catholic cause. Nor had proper measures been taken for the reception of the fleet at La Rochelle. Unable to understand so sudden a change of policy on the part of England, the inhabitants at first refused admission to the fleet, and were only after much persuasion induced to assume a position of open rebellion. Meanwhile Buckingham had attempted to secure a basis of operations by conquering the Isle of Rhé. The open country was easily mastered, but Toyras, the governor, retired to the strong fortress of St. Martin, and when a blockade of eleven weeks was rendered futile by the revictualling of the fort, Buckingham found himself compelled to withdraw his troops. He re-embarked them, after a disastrous action in which he lost more than 1200 men; and this second expedition of the reign returned home with as little success as the one which had preceded it. Its arrival added fresh difficulties to the King, fresh grievances to the people. Honour forbade that the Huguenots should be thus deserted. Without money any renewed effort was impossible. It became necessary to summon a new Parliament. Meanwhile the nation felt bitterly its loss of honour, and the country groaned under the outrages of the mutinous and unpaid soldiery.

Disastrous expedition to Rhé.

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The third Parliament of the reign assembled March 18, 1628. The King did what he could to secure a favourable election. More than seventy gentry who had been imprisoned for refusing the loan were liberated. Arundel and Bristol, who had been restored to confinement after the last Parliament, with Abbot the Archbishop, whose Puritan tendencies had brought him into disgrace, were allowed to take their seats in the House of Lords. These steps were taken in vain. Many of the released prisoners were returned to the Parliament. Even in Westminster the opposition candidates were elected, and all the four members for London were men who had suffered for refusing the loan. The King's opening speech was not conciliatory. "Take not this for threatening," he said, "I scorn to threaten any but my equals." The Lord Keeper Coventry, who had succeeded Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, on his disgrace in that office, added, "His Majesty is resolved that his affairs cannot permit him to expect aid over long." Unmoved by these admonitions, the House at once proceeded to consider grievances, and following the tactics they had already adopted, they promised five subsidies, but refused to pass the Bill granting them till grievances were redressed. The first point brought forward was naturally the late trial with reference to the Habeas Corpus. The discussion was long, and frequently interrupted by messages from the Crown to hasten supply.

Third Parliament. March 18, 1628.

With an ill-judged assumption of power, the King declared there should be no Easter holidays. This was a flagrant breach of Parliamentary privileges. "This House," said Coke "always adjourns itself." A fresh message demanded that a day should be appointed for the completion of the five subsidies. Then Sir Thomas Wentworth moved, in plain words, that "grievances and supplies should go hand in hand." On this the House acted; a succession of petitions were sent up against grievances, which were ultimately incorporated in one great petition, known as the Petition of Right. The points of that petition were four, meeting the great grievances under which the nation was at that time suffering. (1) That no man be compelled to pay loan, benevolence, or tax, without consent of Parliament, or be molested or disquieted for the refusal of it. (2) That no subject should be imprisoned without cause shown. (3) That soldiers and mariners should not be billeted on the people without their will. (4) That no commission should be issued in time of peace to try subjects by martial law. It was usual, when the King gave his consent to a petition, to use the words, "Let right be done as is desired." Instead of this comprehensive formula, the King

The Petition of Right. May 28.

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returned a lengthened reply in the following terms: "The King willeth that right be done according to the customs and laws of the realm, and that the Statute be put in execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrongs or oppression contrary to their rights and privileges, to the preservation whereof he holds himself as well obliged as of his prerogative." The King's evasive answer. June 2.

This answer appeared very unsatisfactory to the House; it was regarded as the work of Buckingham. Till that time the Duke's name had been carefully kept in the background. "All this time," said Selden, "we have cast a mantle on what was done last Parliament, but now, being driven again to look on that man, let us proceed with what was then well begun." A message came from the King announcing the speedy close of the Parliament, and bidding them undertake no new business, and least of all cast aspersions on the ministers. Sir John Elliot, speaking on this point, was checked by Finch, the Speaker, a creature of the Court. The House was much excited. "Let us sit in silence," said Sir Dudley Digges; "we are miserable." The excitement rose to such a pitch that tears were freely shed. At length Sir Edward Coke spoke the feeling of the House in a direct attack upon the Duke. The Speaker begged leave to retire for half an hour; and the House, that it might speak more freely, dissolved itself into Committee. The Speaker was absent three hours in conference with the King, during which time the House gave free vent to its pent-up indignation. On his return, the Speaker announced that the King would meet the Houses on the following morning. The members separated in full expectation of a sudden dissolution, but the Speaker seems to have made the King clearly understand the determined feeling of the House, and when Charles met them the following day (June 9th) he tore his evasive answer from the petition, and ordered the usual words, "Soit droit fait comme il est desiré," to be appended in its place. Scene in the House. June 5.

The Commons and the nation were alike triumphant at this success; their gratitude for it was at once shown by the completion of the grant of the five subsidies. But they naturally concluded that, having obtained sanction for the Petition of Right, they were at liberty to act at once upon it. They therefore proceeded to examine into those grievances which were most obviously in contravention of it. They first of all attacked and declared the illegality of a Commission, established just before the beginning of this Parliament, for examining into the possible means of raising Triumph of the House.

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money. This they regarded, not unnaturally, as an apparatus for discovering the best methods of illegal taxation. They then proceeded with their attack on Buckingham, and drew up a Remonstrance, declaring him the cause of all the evils which the Petition was to rectify. Thirdly, they asserted the illegality of the collection of tonnage and poundage in accordance with the Petition of Right. In all probability the King had really not understood these customs to be included; in the bill itself the word "imposition," which would have been the natural one to use for such a tax, had been omitted, and it is almost impossible not to regard this claim on the part of the Commons as an attempt to force on the King indirectly a new limitation of his power. They were still engaged in their remonstrance on this head, when the King, disgusted with the slight advantages his concessions had gained him, fearing for his favourite, and determined not to lose the tonnage and poundage, suddenly prorogued the House. This he did in a speech, putting his own interpretation on the Petition of Right, and concluding with the words: "That as for tonnage and poundage, it is a thing I cannot be without, and was never intended by you to ask, nor meant by me, I am sure, to grant." The Parliament would not admit this interpretation of the Petition, they held that there was no ground for distinguishing tonnage and poundage from other sources of the revenue. It has been usual to assert that Charles's real intention was made clear the next day, when he stopped the printer, who had already struck off copies of the Petition and answer, and caused the first evasive answer to be reappended in the printed forms. In fact, however, he had both answers printed side by side, most probably with the intention of showing that their meaning was the same, though the expressions were different.

Parliament prorogued. June 26.

The Parliament was to reassemble in January 1629. In the interval affairs of considerable importance had taken place. In the first place, the Duke of Buckingham, the man whom the Commons had regarded as the cause of all evil, and who had kept their anger from falling direct upon the King, was assassinated. It had been thought necessary to continue the warlike attempts of the preceding year. An army was collected to relieve La Rochelle, against which the whole strength of the French kingdom, under the immediate orders of Richelieu, was now directed. Buckingham was to take charge of the expedition in person, to remove if possible the bad effects of his disaster. Preparations were being hurried on at Portsmouth, and the Duke was personally

Assassination of Buckingham. Aug. 23.

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superintending them, when, as he was conversing with some of his subordinates, he was stabbed to the heart by Felton, who had served as a lieutenant in the expedition to the Isle of Rhé. The murderer declared that he had no accomplices, and was inspired solely by patriotic and religious zeal. It was indeed impossible but that the assaults upon Buckingham in Parliament should have produced an effect upon the popular mind. Already, before the adjournment, Dr. Lamb, the Duke's physician, had been murdered in London. Placards had been posted in the streets, asking "Who rules the Kingdom?—The King. Who rules the King?—Buckingham. Who rules Buckingham?—The Devil;" and the doggerel lines,

"Let George and Charles do what they can,
The Duke shall die like Dr. Lamb,"

were current in men's mouths. It was in spite of frequent warnings of the danger he would incur that the Duke had insisted on going to Portsmouth. There is no reason to disbelieve Felton's account, that it was the conviction of Buckingham's crimes that induced him to commit the murder. Buckingham had owed his elevation to his personal beauty, and to the dashing and attractive qualities he no doubt possessed. As a statesman he was absolutely inefficient. The cause of his extreme unpopularity among his contemporaries may well have been jealousy at the vast accumulation of titles and ranks which had been heaped upon him,[1] and the frivolous and overweening vanity which marked his public conduct. Graver charges, in the eyes of a student of history, are his misappreciation of the growth of popular force, and the ignorance of foreign politics, which induced him in mere caprice to plunge England into two important wars. He thus neutralized the power of both France and England, and by throwing France into alliance with Spain, in fact secured the defeat of that Protestant cause he was pretending to uphold.

Buckingham's character.

On the immediate conduct of affairs in England his death produced no change. The King intended henceforward to be his own minister. Weston, lately made Lord Treasurer, hoped for a moment to secure some of the Duke's influence, but a greater man than he had now joined the Council of the King. The Court had induced several of its old opponents to throw aside their opposition. Saville and the lawyers Noy and Littleton had become devout courtiers; and

[1] He had been made Gentleman of the Bedchamber, Knight of the Garter, Lord High Admiral, Chief-Justice in Eyre, Master of the King's Bench, High Steward of Westminster, Constable of Windsor Castle, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and Warden of the Cinque Ports.

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Wentworth, finding, it is probable, no career in what he regarded as a losing cause, had accepted a peerage, and became henceforward the mainstay of the Court. Meanwhile, the liberties of the subject, especially with regard to tonnage and poundage, were infringed as before. A man named Vassals had been imprisoned, and his goods seized, for refusing to pay extra customs, and the merchandize of Richard Chambers of London had been seized because he declined to pay tonnage and poundage. Nor had the sensitive religious jealousy of the people been left without fresh causes of irritation. Laud had been raised to the Bishopric of London, and Montague and Manwaring, though censured and condemned by Parliament, were pardoned and rewarded, the one with the Bishopric of Chichester, the other with large Church preferments. The mistrust with regard to religion had been still further increased by the discovery of a letter, among the papers of a Jesuit Society at Clerkenwell, which distinctly set forth that Arminianism was but the small end of the wedge, which the Jesuits had good hope of driving home.[1]

Wentworth the mainstay of the Court.

The death of Buckingham, then, which might have softened the opposition, had had no such effect, and Parliament assembled, sore at the desertion of its leaders, at the continued disregard of the Petition of Right, and at what they regarded as a systematic effort to thwart their religious views. The violations of the Petition of Right were referred to a committee, which produced a speech from the Crown, urging the House at once to grant tonnage and poundage, and thus put an end to the matter. They chose rather to turn to their religious grievances. At the suggestion of Sir John Elliot, a general engagement was entered into to preserve the religion of the country; and the subject of the pardon of the Arminian clergy was again and again brought forward. The same spirit displayed itself with regard to the arbitrary taxes. All the instances of the neglect of the Petition of Right were brought forward; and at length Elliot made a personal assault on Laud, on Neil, Bishop of Winchester, and on the Lord Treasurer Weston. Upon the Speaker being requested to put to the vote the question before the House, he refused, saying he had received an order of adjournment from the King. Once again, after reassembling, the House was adjourned.

Parliament reassembles. Jan. 20.

Finally, on the 2nd of March, the Speaker again declared that the

[1] "Now we have planted that sovereign drug Arminianism, which we hope will purge the Protestants from their heresy; and it flourisheth and bears fruit in due season."

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King had ordered him to adjourn the House, and refused to put the question. In expectation of what might happen, and fearing a speedy dissolution, two members of the opposition, Denzel Holles and Valentine, had placed themselves on either side of the chair, and by force held the Speaker down when he strove to leave it. A scene of considerable disturbance ensued. In spite of his tears and entreaties, the Speaker was kept in his seat till Holles had read a protest, declaring that any one who should favour or countenance Popery or Arminianism, or counsel and advise the levying of subsidies not granted by Parliament, or should voluntarily pay any such subsidy, should be reputed a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth. While this was being read, the doors were locked, to guard against interruption; nor were the expectations of the Commons mistaken, for the King was intending an immediate dissolution. He sent for the Serjeant of the House, who was however forbidden to obey. He then sent the Usher of the House of Lords with a message. He was refused admittance. Finally, the Guard was sent with orders to break open the door. The appeal to force was not necessary; the protest having been read, the House had hurriedly adjourned and dispersed. The King immediately, without summoning the Commons, dissolved Parliament.[1] The chief actors in this scene, Holles, Elliot, Selden, Valentine, and others, were at once apprehended by orders of the Council. Holles, Elliot and Valentine, were committed close prisoners to the Tower, and their studies and papers sealed up. The conduct of the King throughout this session leads to the supposition that he had little hope of establishing amicable relations with Parliament. At all events the effort was now over. He was determined to rule without one. The false notion of the Stuarts with regard to the position of the sovereign in England, and their favourite theory of Divine right, had produced the natural result. Popular sovereignty was at an end, an undisguised arbitrary government had taken its place.

Parliament dissolved. March 10.

Clarendon asserts of this time, that it was one of such order and prosperity, that England was the envy of foreign countries; but on more than one occasion he suffers to escape him a list of evils which much modifies the assertion. In fact, it is probable that, as is frequently the case with despotic governments, commerce was protected, wealth was acquired, and an external show of prosperity was the result. But the Government was such, that beneath the outward calm, violent passions and universal

Government without Parliaments.

[1] The Proclamation of Dissolution, signed March 2, was issued March 10.

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discontent were concealed; and this discontent was excited not only in England, but in the kingdoms of Ireland and Scotland also. In the absence of the Parliament, by which alone money can be legally granted, the great difficulty which must beset a government is the collection of revenue. For this purpose Charles had recourse to means all illegal, or at all events touching the verge of illegality, and all of them onerous. He at first proceeded on the assumption that the subsidy promised, but not completed, was fairly his. It was raised with the greatest severity throughout the country. He next revived obsolete laws, from which he hoped to derive revenue, and for this purpose he caused an examination of the boundaries of the forests. Grants, and the growth of cultivation, had undoubtedly much diminished the old extent of the forests. The object of the examination was to restore to the Crown all that had been separated from them, or at least to compel the present owners to pay heavy fines or large annual rents for what they held. It is said that the jurors in such cases were men living in the forest purlieus, and consequently open to undue influences, and liable to give unjust verdicts. Two or three instances will explain the importance of this measure. A correspondent, in 1635, writes to the Lord-Deputy of Ireland that "all Essex has become forest, and so they say will all the counties of England but three—Kent, Surrey, and Sussex." Lord Southampton, who held part of the New Forest, found his income likely to be changed from £2500 to £500. The bounds of Rockingham Forest were increased from six to sixty miles; and holders of grants in it from Queen Elizabeth were fined sums varying from £20,000 to £3000. In the same way Charles revived the old law of knighthood. All £40 holders who had not taken up their knighthood were fined, and as the change in the value of money rendered many men of that class wholly unfit for the rank of knighthood, they preferred being fined to taking the title. £100,000 is said to have been thus collected. The Statute of the 31st Elizabeth, passed with the intention of checking the extension of large holdings, had forbidden the erection of cottages on less than four acres of land. The execution of this law is said by a contemporary "to vex the poor mightily, it is far more burdensome than the ship-money." All sorts of matters beyond the cognizance of common law, such as quarrels, or speaking ill of the Government, were brought before the Star Chamber, and enormous and exorbitant fines exacted. No less than £6,000,000 is said to have been raised by fines during this period. The severity of these fines, and the trivial grounds on which they were exacted, is shown

Financial schemes.

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by the fact, that Lord Morley was on one occasion fined no less than £20,000; while we find Strafford urging that Sir David Fowles and his son should be fined £2000 apiece to the King, and £2000 to himself, for having said that he, Strafford, was no more accounted of at Court than an ordinary man. In addition to these, the King found means to raise large sums of money by the establishment and sale of monopolies. Scarcely anything even of the most common use was exempted from this indirect form of taxation. Coal, salt, iron, soap, leather, tobacco, beer, butter, linen, hops, and buttons, were all in the hands of monopolists. The patents were usually granted to companies, who paid largely for them. Thus the patentees for a new soap, which experience proved to be very bad, agreed to pay £30,000 for two years, and £40,000 for ever after.

But these were after all temporary and extraordinary means. A fixed revenue was desirable, and a plan was devised by the renegade lawyer Noy, in 1634, for supplying this want. This was the famous ship-money, by which the counties were called upon to supply shipping, nominally for the defence of the country. It was at first inflicted on the maritime parts of the kingdom only; and the excuses that were alleged were the incursions of the Algerine pirates and the naval supremacy of the Dutch. From the first it was very unpopular. "I had rather," writes Garrard, the same correspondent of the Lord Deputy that has been before mentioned, "give ten subsidies in Parliament than this old new plan of Noy's." Subsequently, by the advice of Finch, Speaker of the third Parliament, and afterwards Chief-Justice, it was extended to all the counties. "When the whole kingdom was in danger," he said, "the whole charge ought to be maintained by all the subjects of the realm." It amounted to about £220,000 a year, and was at first employed according to its original intention. A large English fleet was kept in the narrow seas, with orders to assert the supremacy of the national flag. But the principle was so obviously capable of extension that Strafford said of it: "Let the King only abstain from war for three years, that he may habituate his subjects to the payment of this tax, and in the end he will find himself more powerful and respected than any of his predecessors." It is not to be supposed that so large a measure as this could be carried out without opposition, although Finch, a well-known and subservient instrument of the Court, had been made Chief-Justice for the express purpose of giving his judgment in favour of it, and had succeeded in persuading his fellow Judges to join him for that purpose. It was a gentleman

Ship-money. 1634.

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of the name of John Hampden who undertook to bring the question of the legality of ship-money before the courts of law. The trial was as important as the preceding one on the Habeas Corpus. In that the personal freedom of all Englishmen was at stake, in this nothing less than the possibility of the establishment of a non-parliamentary rule. The issue was tried on a small point. In 1637, John Hampden, a Buckinghamshire gentleman, was assessed at twenty shillings for his property in Stoke Mandeville. On his refusing to pay, the question was tried before all the Judges in the Exchequer Chamber. For six days the argument continued—Banks and Littleton were counsels for the Crown; Oliver St. John for Hampden. The chief points relied on by Hampden's counsel were, that the precedents were not applicable, that the necessity was not urgent, and that the imposition of the tax was in distinct opposition not only to the old statutes, but to the Petition of Right. But the Judges, with Finch at their head, were creatures of the Court. Their judgments were couched in the strongest language in favour of the prerogative. "No Act of Parliament," said Finch, "can bar the King of his regality. Acts of Parliament to take away his royal power in defence of his kingdom are void, or Acts to bind the King not to command the subjects, their persons, their property, and, I say, their money too, for no Acts of Parliament make any difference." Seven of the Judges gave their judgments in favour of the Crown, five in favour of Hampden, but of these, two only, Hutton and Crook, upon the merits of the case. The judgment seemed to make the King's position unassailable.

Hampden's opposition to it.

Importance of the decision to the Crown.

If illegal oppression, for a moment triumphant, was producing a vast amount of suppressed discontent, the action of the High Church party was even more disastrous. The principle of popular sovereignty, which lay at the bottom of both their creeds, closely united the patriotic party with the Puritans, and forced into strict alliance the upholders of high prerogative and the High Church. As the King's chief adviser in secular matters was Wentworth, though he was generally absent from England, so in Church matters was Laud, and they were both devoted to a plan of action which they called by the name of "Thorough," and which consisted in suppressing, with a strong hand and immediately, all attempts to question their authority. There were many things which excited the fears of the Puritans. Arminianism had become the Court religion. Laud was known to look with no great dislike upon the reli-

Unpopular action of the Church.

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gion of Rome; and a plan of reconciliation with that Church had been formed. A Cardinal's hat had been demanded from Rome; it was at first believed for Laud himself, but as subsequently appeared for a Papal agent of the name of Conn. An accredited agent from the Roman Court was accepted in London; and a considerable number both of courtiers and Bishops had expressed to him their willingness to accept some scheme of comprehension. Moreover, the Court of High Commission had rendered itself disagreeable by intermeddling in private morality, and by the infliction of exorbitant fines, backed up by the authority of the Star Chamber. Laud, too, was evidently aiming at restoring the Church to something of its old political importance. He was himself in fact Prime Minister, and introduced Juxon, Bishop of London, to the Council, in the position of Lord-Treasurer.

Popular dislike to this conduct showed itself in four notable instances. In 1630, a clergyman of the name of Leighton had written a book called "Sion's Plea against Prelacy," full of strong language against the Bishops and against the Queen. At Laud's instigation he was brought before the Star Chamber, fined £10,000, whipped, pilloried, branded, slit in the nostrils, and imprisoned for life. Prynne, a lawyer, had, in 1632, published a work against stage-plays called "Histrio-Mastix," which was held to reflect upon the conduct of the Queen in taking part in the Court masks. He also was Star-Chambered, fined heavily, deprived of his ears, and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. From his prison he continued to write, and published a work called "News from Ipswich," in which the Bishops are spoken of by the somewhat scurrilous title of "Luciferian Lords." John Bastwick, a fellow-prisoner, followed his example in a book called "Elenchus Papismi." Henry Burton also produced his "Apology." The language of all these books is undoubtedly strong. With one the Bishops are like "devils in surplices," with another "dumb dogs, antichristian mushrooms, and limbs of the Beast;" but the punishment of the writers was scarcely proportionate to their offence. They were brought before the Star Chamber, and, besides being fined and cropped, were imprisoned for life beyond the limits of England; Bastwick in the Scilly Isles, Burton and Prynne in the Channel Islands. It might have shown the Government something of the hidden feeling of the country, that not less than 100,000 people are said to have lined the roads to watch their departure, as though it were a triumph.

Four instances of opposition.

The chief machinery on which the upholders of the "Thorough"

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system relied was the Star Chamber and the venal courts of law.

The Star Chamber.

How the Judges acted has been mentioned with regard to the ship-money. The Star Chamber was in fact the Privy Council acting in its judicial capacity. Historically the lineal descendant of the old "Concilium ordinarium" of the Plantagenets, its power, as a judicial body, had been reconstituted by Wolsey for the purpose of taking cognizance of failures of justice, or of illegal acts on the part of men too important to be safely left to the action of common law. This undefined authority the Council had now increased, till, as has been seen, nearly any speech or action, by which the authority of Government was questioned, was brought within its cognizance, to the total subversion of that personal freedom which the common law secures.

While thus, under a show of successful and even prosperous despotism, the seeds of the bitterest discontent were being sown in England, the same process was going on both in Ireland and Scotland. Wentworth, shortly after his desertion of the popular cause, had been appointed President of the Council of the North, a Council originally established in 1536, after the great Northern insurrection. Under Wentworth it was re-organized into an arbitrary court upon the model of the Star Chamber, with a right of staying proceedings at common law by injunction, and of apprehending persons by its serjeant in any part of the realm. In 1633, Wentworth was able to extend his arbitrary rule still further. In that year he was made Lord-Deputy of Ireland, without resigning his position in the North.

Wentworth President of the North and Lord-Deputy.

On the accession of James I. all the bygone treasons of the Irish were for the moment forgiven. O'Donnell, one of the rebel chiefs, was made Earl of Tyrconnel, and O'Neil reinstated in his position. Gentleness was mistaken for cowardice, and Tyrconnel and O'Neil were soon again conspiring against England. The failure of their conspiracy and their flight from the country allowed their property to be confiscated to the Crown, and a large part of Ulster, including Derry, Tyrone, Cavan, and Armagh, fell into the hands of the Crown—in all some 2,000,000 acres. Three quarters of the worst land was restored to the Irish, the rest was retained for systematic colonization. There was no difficulty in finding volunteers, mostly of Puritan opinions, who were willing to submit to the conditions imposed upon the intending colonists. The effect was extraordinary; the decaying trade revived; new industries were opened, especially the manufac-

Retrospect of Irish history.

Colonization of Ulster. 1608.

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ture of linen, the breeding of cattle, and the growing of wool. In this prosperity the industrious Irish shared; all diversities of race were, as far as possible, destroyed.

There was, however, a large population of dispossessed landowners, who lived a life of idleness and disturbance, and against whom Acts of Parliament had to be passed. These formed a dangerous class, and the policy of England would have been to unite all the Protestant interests of the country to oppose it. Unfortunately there were two classes of Protestants, the one consisting of the Scotch colonists in the North, and many of the new settlers who were Puritans, and the other of those English who had passed over in Elizabeth's time, and who were drawn from a higher class, to whom Puritanism was hateful. Of course, to Laud and to Charles it appeared necessary, before all things, that this party should be raised to prominence, and the Northern Puritans suppressed. It was felt, too, that Ireland might supply troops, which, in case of difficulty, might help to suppress any Puritan movement in England. To carry out these views, Wentworth assumed the viceroyalty. His first measures were directed towards allaying the discontent which the Government of the last few years had caused, and which bade fair to neutralize all the advantages gained in the preceding reign.

The old Irish difficulties were reviving in all their vehemence, and Papists, Churchmen, and Puritans were on the verge of open fighting. The army had almost disappeared, 1350 foot and 200 horse were all that remained, and these consisted chiefly of substitutes, receiving about a fourth of their nominal pay, their officers (for the most part Privy Councillors) appropriating the remainder. A more efficient army was absolutely necessary. The country was put under the government of Lord Falkland. But the only way of supporting the new army was by putting it at free quarters. Driven to despair by this project, the Irish offered to pay a large voluntary contribution, £100,000, at the rate of £10,000 a quarter, if they could get certain concessions or *graces* granted. The list of these graces explains from what they suffered. They desired relief from illegal taxation by the courts, from illegal payments to the soldiery, from illegal monopolies, from the religious penal statutes, and from the constant inquiry into titles, which was a fruitful source of revenue, but which rendered every man's property insecure. All this was to be ratified by an Irish Parliament. But Falkland unfortunately issued the writs for that Parliament without attention to the requirements of Poynings' Law. Consequently the Parliament was declared null. Still the Catholics, believing that the relief contained in the graces would be

Falkland's government. 1628.

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given them, began openly to declare their rights, and to establish a Roman Catholic seminary. When Falkland issued a proclamation against their proceedings, the Catholics, full of anger, joined the Protestants in demanding the promised graces, and in refusing to pay the voluntary contribution till they were conceded. His government having proved a failure, Falkland withdrew to England. For a few months the government by Lords-Justices made things worse. Voluntary contribution was threatening to cease altogether.

Wentworth's government. 1633.

The sole hope now lay in Wentworth. He at once changed the character of the government. He wrote to prohibit the action of the justices, and when they declared that the legal fine of a shilling a Sunday upon all recusants was the only visible resource left, he declared himself against it, as destroying the whole confidence of the Catholics, and asserted that he could with ease secure a new voluntary subscription. He came with almost full power. "It is impossible for me," he said, "to remedy the evils, unless I be entirely trusted and livelily assisted and countenanced by his Majesty." His views were the same as they had been in the North. In Ireland he had more scope for carrying them out. There, as in a conquered country, the King in Council had originally had the power of superseding the common law. By degrees, as civilization gathered strength, this privilege had sunk into disuse; Falkland had wholly abandoned it. But Wentworth did not intend to allow so good a means of establishing his arbitrary authority to lie dormant; whatever his words may have been, it is certain that he intended to treat Ireland again as a conquered country. "These lawyers," he writes, "would monopolize all judicature, as if no honour or justice could be rightly administered but under one of their bencher's gowns. I am sure they little understand the unsettled state of this kingdom that could advise the King to lessen the power of his Deputy. Therefore, I beseech you, assist me therein; I shall be answerable for my head." Consequently the Castle Court assumed as dominant a position as the Star Chamber or the Court of York in England. Wentworth's personal predominance secured the renewal of the voluntary grant. But he was not contented. He wanted an army to suppress opposition, the army must be paid, and the payment must not be precarious; there was no way to secure such an income but by Parliament. It was not without persuasion that he overcame Charles's dislike to such assemblies. In a most curious despatch he explained his plans, and removed his master's objections. His chief reliance was on Poynings' Law. By that law nothing could be proposed in the Irish Parliament which had not first been approved by

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the English Council. The Act was doubtless intended to place the initiative in the English Council as a safeguard against the influence of the great Irish chiefs or overweening deputies. But the letter of the law was with Wentworth; he made the best of it. "The mighty power," he said, "gotten by the wisdom of former ages must be preserved with hallowed care." It was thus he made use of it: the Parliament which was to be summoned was to be divided into two sessions—the first to be occupied entirely with matters of finance; the second, it was promised, should be given to the confirmation of the graces. The letter in which he explains his plans lays bare what is simply a monstrous trick to secure absolutism. The first session having been successful, and the money granted, in the second session, in virtue of Poynings' Law, only such graces should be introduced as the King may please. In other words, the money was to be taken and the price refused. If the Parliament refused the money, the world would approve of extreme measures, if they started aside, the general peace abroad admitted of their chastisement. But such extremes were not likely to be necessary; the Parliament was to be judiciously packed. A number of military officers were to be elected, while the remainder of the members were to be balanced equally between Catholics and Protestants. If the Catholics made objections to the supplies, the weekly shilling for recusancy was to be demanded from them; if the Protestants objected, they were to be told that the voluntary subscription must remain in force. With his usual pomp, and with the words, that "if they expected protection without contribution towards it, they looked for more than had ever been the portion of a conquered kingdom," Wentworth opened the session. His "bullying manner," he says, "answered well." Six subsidies were granted. But in the second session the Parliament found how they had been duped. Wentworth openly asserted that he had not even sent the graces to England, and, justifying himself with Poynings' Law, refused to introduce them. The Catholics made some feeble resistance, but before the close of the session Wentworth wrote, "The King is now as absolute here as any prince in the world can be, and may be still, if not spoiled on that side."

He explains his plans in a letter.

The Ulster Protestants were to be forced to become Episcopalians. High Church Bishops were sent among them, a Court of High Commission established, the Act of Uniformity universally applied, a new body of Canons passed, and Commissioners sent down to the North to secure the dismissal of Puritan ministers. The persecution was so severe that many men took refuge in the woods. The

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threatening position of the Roman Catholic Irish prevented the Puritans, thus persecuted, from thinking of insurrection. It was upon England alone, in some shape or other, that they could rely. Wentworth knew this when persecuting them. He felt he was secure from any effort of theirs.

Nor had he the least intention of letting Ireland fall back into its native anarchy. On the contrary, he determined to proceed with the colonization, and to settle Connaught. This country was still exclusively Irish. In order to get possession of it, Wentworth insisted on the examination of title-deeds. A vast number of the proprietors had no such deeds to show, and four-fifths of the land fell into the hands of the Crown. Wentworth's proceedings were of the most high-handed character. In spite of the King's promise, that no claim beyond sixty years should be revived, he set no limits to his inquiries; and the juries who failed to find verdicts according to his wishes fared but badly. He had thus succeeded in exciting the anger both of the Celtic Roman Catholic population and of the Puritans of the North. But he was still able, when the contest between parties was growing to a head, to take advantage of deep-set religious differences, and to array against the Puritans from Scotland an army of Roman Catholics. But when that army was subsequently disbanded on the demand of Parliament, the Puritans being hostile and the Roman Catholics estranged, there was no important party whom the King could trust, and the Great Rebellion of 1641 was the consequence.

He attempts the colonization of Connaught. 1636.

Consequent discontent of natives and Puritans.

The same ecclesiastical policy which had thus alienated the Puritans of Ireland was the chief cause of the hostility of Scotland. Charles determined to follow up the designs of his father. It will be remembered that the great difficulty that King had found in the restoration of Episcopacy was the transference which had taken place of Church property into the hands of the laity. In 1626 and 1628, Charles announced that all grants would be resumed, whether they had been given before or after the great Act of 1587. Even tithes were to be restored: "An Act which was the groundstone," says Sir John Balfour, "of all the mischief that followed it." To attempt the restoration of Church property was to touch the nobility in their tenderest point; and they thenceforward became the determined opponents of the Crown. Finally, after much disputing, the lay proprietors agreed to arbitration, and a series of private lawsuits settled the question. The tithes were

Scotland.

Church property resumed. 1628.

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changed into a fixed rent charge; and these arbitrations and arrangements were ratified by the Parliament in 1633. Still there was much mistrust on the part of the laity, and they still feared, we are told, that the Church would find means, in spite of the arrangements, to get back all its property, which would amount to about a third of the kingdom.

In this same year Charles visited his Northern kingdom, and was there crowned; but, with his usual want of tact, contrived to quarrel with his Parliament. In the first place, he tampered with the election of the Lords of the Articles, as that Committee was called which prepared measures to be introduced into the Scotch Parliament. This body was very different in structure from the English Parliament. It consisted of Lords spiritual and temporal, deputies from the royal burghs, and representatives of the lesser tenants *in capite;* but though the voting was by order, there was no division into Houses, all orders sat together, and the vote was taken by a simple Yes or No on the measures introduced by the Lords of the Articles, no amendment being allowed. The consequence of this arrangement was to give the Lords of the Articles great influence, and they were frequently able to tack obnoxious clauses to bills which were too good to be wholly rejected; thus, on the present occasion, to a bill declaring the royal prerogative was added a clause arranging the apparel of the clergy. To make matters worse, Charles himself sat in the Parliament, and made note of those who voted against his wishes. This question of the apparel of the clergy gained more importance from the ritualistic observances of the King's Chapel, and when Laud returned to London, he issued an order that "the whites," as the clerical dress was called, should be universally worn. The whites were much hated by the Presbyterians; by some they were even regarded as an idolatrous remnant of the dress of the priests of Isis. From this time onward the efforts of Laud to assimilate the Church of Scotland with that of England were continued. He made Spottiswood of St. Andrews High Chancellor and President of the Council, and in pursuance of his plan for introducing the Church into the secular government, he obtained the admission of four other Bishops to the Council. Having become Archbishop of Canterbury, he assumed supremacy over the Scotch Church. At his orders, and without any ecclesiastical meeting, Canons were introduced. Thus arbitrarily promulgated, they were generally regarded at once as illegal and as "subjecting the nation to the discipline of a

Charles visits Scotland, and quarrels with the Parliament. 1633.

Laud's ritualistic measures.

His illegal Canons.

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foreign Church." Thus, by the year 1636, everything had been done to excite discontent. The powers and privileges of Parliament had been tampered with by the King's presence, and in the election of the Lords of the Articles; the royal prerogative had encroached upon the freedom of the nation, by the publication of the Canons on its own authority; a forced submission to the English Church discipline had hurt the national feeling; ritualism had shocked the religious prejudices of the Presbyterians; the nobles had lost much of their ecclesiastical property. The introduction of the new Service Book was the spark which lighted the conflagration. Service Books had not been unknown in Scotland. Knox himself had issued one; but the use of such books was now rendered imperative; and not only were English forms introduced, but in the Communion Service changes were made which seemed to tend towards Popery. The new Service Book was to be read at Easter 1637. It was unwisely put off till July, during which time opposition grew stronger. The reading of it in St. Giles's Church in Edinburgh produced an uproar. A stool was thrown at the reader's head; the Bishop was with difficulty smuggled to his house. The opposition to the book was universal. By most of the clergy it was given up; but the Bishop of Brechin, we are told, did contrive to read the service, surrounded by his wife and servants, all armed, with locked doors. On coming out, however, he had to run for his life. The opposition took the form of supplications or petitions against the book. These were innumerable. At length a reply came to them, punishing Edinburgh by removing the Government to Linlithgow, and ordering the expulsion of all strangers. The effect of this was to make the excitement stronger. The Town Council was besieged; the Bishop of Galloway attacked; Lord Traquair, the Treasurer, hustled.

Introduction of the Service Book.

Uproars in Edinburgh.

At last, so great was the disturbance, that, by the consent of all parties, an organization called The Tables was arranged. The Tables or Boards consisted of four representatives from each of the classes—nobles, lesser barons, burgesses and clergy, and being representative, it was virtually a Parliament, while the usual parliamentary balance of parties was wanting, as it consisted entirely of members of the opposition. The Tables and the Council entered into a constitutional struggle. Every proclamation of the Crown was met by a protest, which in Scotch law is held to postpone, at all events, the validity of the document against which it is directed. A game of hide and seek, ridiculous enough but for the important point at

The Tables.

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issue, was played between the Council and the Protesters, who made a point of being present with a protest whenever a proclamation was read. At length, on the advice of Hope, the King's advocate, and of Johnstone of Warriston, it was determined to renew the Covenant, which had been originally drawn up in Elizabeth's reign at the time of the Catholic crisis. The document was accepted in its old form, with all the vehement language due to the critical time in which it had been written.[1] It was first signed in the Greyfriars' churchyard, and then sent through Scotland for signatures. People crowded to the churches to accept it; some, we are told, in their excitement keeping their seats there from Friday to Sunday.

Renewal of the Covenant. 1638.

Things had reached such a pitch that the King thought it necessary to send a High Commissioner. Hamilton, the King's cousin, was chosen. The Covenanters demanded the abolition of the Court of High Commission, of the Service Book and Canons, a free Parliament, and a General Assembly. The Commissioners required an entire renunciation of the Covenant. After a lengthened struggle, to the surprise of all men, the King suddenly surrendered. All the claims of the Covenanters were granted, and a General Assembly was summoned to meet at Glasgow, in which the Bishops were to be brought to trial. The meaning of this sudden change of policy was, that the King had determined to appeal to arms, and had desired Hamilton to gain time by any means in his power. In 1637, the outbreak of popular anger against the Service Book had occurred in Edinburgh. In April 1638 the unsuccessful issue of Hampden's appeal to law against the ship-money had been made known. In October of the same year the Tables had been organized, and the Covenant accepted by Scotland; and now, in November, the General Assembly met at Glasgow. The course of that Assembly was grand and orderly. The Tables had contrived that there should be a considerable number of lay members present in it, and these drawn from the highest ranks of the nobility. It thus became virtually, although not in name, a Parliament. It busied itself, however, as was its duty, with ecclesiastical matters. Hopes were entertained that Hamilton, the Commissioner who held it, would remain till it had completed its work, and give it a show of legality. He remained while the preliminary work was being done, but when the Assembly proceeded to its real business, and declaring itself competent to inquire into the conduct of the Bishops, prepared to hear charges against them

Claims of the Covenanters granted to gain time.

General Assembly of 1638.

[1] See pp. 496, 534.

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he withdrew, and made public declaration that the Assembly was dissolved. In spite of this, it continued its work, found all the Bishops guilty of Popish practices and immoral conduct, annulled all the Acts of preceding Assemblies from the year 1606,[1] thus abolishing the Five Articles of Perth, condemned the Service Book and the Canons, and closed its session with declaring that Episcopacy and the acceptance of the Five Articles of Perth were contrary to the Confession of Faith.

Assembly dissolved, but continues its sitting.

It was plain that war was inevitable, and the Tables had been engaged in preparing for it. Nor was the risk in truth very great. Scotland, with the exception of the country round Aberdeen, which was under the influence of the Marquis of Huntly and shared in the views of the Court, was united, and at this time stronger than England. The country was full of experienced soldiers, who had returned from the Thirty Years' War, and were glad to find employment in their own country, under the command of Field-Marshal Alexander Leslie, who had returned from abroad, and had been appointed commander-in-chief. An army thus organized was certain to be vastly superior to the raw levies of England. Moreover, although the ship-money trial had given a fallacious appearance of triumph to the Crown in England, and supplied it with a revenue sufficient for time of peace, the Scots were not ignorant of the real feeling of the bulk of the English nation. Their objects, and those of the English Reformers, were so much alike, that it was impossible but that there should be sympathy between them. They had also applied successfully to France, where Richelieu was glad of an opportunity of revenging himself upon Charles for his former support of the Huguenots; for having more lately thwarted his plans in the Low Countries against Spain; and for having afforded asylum to Mary de Medici, the particular object of Richelieu's dislike. It was therefore with good heart that the Covenanters entered upon the war, with a formidable and well-drilled force of 22,000 foot and 500 horse. The numbers of this army, enormous in comparison with the population, show the general interest in the cause.

Preparations for war. 1639.

France helps the Scotch.

Charles had consulted his Council, and determined on war also. Strafford, indeed, conscious of the superiority of the Scotch discipline, recommended a war of defence, with the army occupying a threatening position on the Borders. But Charles, misled by the appearance of tranquillity in England, believing that

Resources of England.

[1] See page 606.

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the national dislike of Scotland would come to his aid, and with a ridiculous misconception of the strength of the Scotch, was inclined for stronger measures. A large army was to meet at York. Hamilton, with 5000 men, was to join Huntly at Aberdeen. Antrim, with the Irish Scotch, and Strafford, with the Catholic army he was organizing, were to attack the West of Scotland. But the whole preparations were a sham; of Hamilton's troops scarce 200 knew how to fire a musket. Montrose had already decoyed Huntly into his power, and captured Aberdeen, and the temper of England began to be evident when the Lords Brook and Say refused to sign a declaration which the King offered them, asserting that the Covenanters were rebels. The Scotch advance was admirably managed, the commissariat was well supplied, and in the drill and arrangements the knowledge of Leslie and his old soldiers left nothing to be desired. The Covenanters still wished not to drive matters to extremity. They obeyed a proclamation which forbade them to approach within ten miles of the Border, and took up a position on the Hill of Dunse,[1] commanding all the roads from Berwick into Scotland. **Leslie at Dunse Law.**

The King found them so formidable, and had become so conscious of his own weakness, that he thought a treaty would be desirable. Indirect means were taken to convey this news to the Scotch; and before long commissioners appeared in the tent of the English general to discuss a pacification. During the first meeting (June 11), the King himself made his appearance among them, and from that time onwards conducted the negotiations in person. This was a characteristic error on the part of Charles; it rendered any subsequent disagreement a personal attack upon himself; and such a disagreement very speedily followed. The main points of the Pacification were, that a free Assembly and a free Parliament should be held, at which, if possible, Charles himself should be present; that meanwhile the royal castles should be restored, and the forces of the Covenanters disbanded. But though the Articles had been reduced to writing, there was a great deal of verbal matter not very clearly defined between the negotiators. Before the Scotch commissioners left Berwick, their view of the whole bearing of the treaty was drawn up in a paper and distributed among the chiefs of the English army. This paper Charles declared to be full of falsehoods, and caused it to be burnt by the hangman in London. Such conduct made it evident that the Pacification was not a real one. The Scotch, **Treaty of Berwick.**

[1] The Hill of Dunse was within the ten miles, still the halt there may be regarded as a real obedience to the command.

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on their part, hesitated to give up the royal castles, and, while disbanding their army, kept together their experienced officers. The Assembly and the Parliament were in due course held, but the King was not present. As the Covenanters well knew would be the case when they made the Pacification, these Assemblies only ratified completely the work of the Assembly of 1638. The Parliament, before the completion of its session, was prorogued by Charles, but resumed its sittings in spite of this order. To set their conduct right with Charles, they had despatched two commissioners to London, one of whom was Lowdon, afterwards Chancellor. They were refused admittance to the King, and ordered to return, but were afterwards brought back to London, and Lowdon was there arrested. The cause of this arrest was a letter which had been intercepted, recommending a certain Mr. Colville as Scotch agent to Richelieu. Lowdon's name, with some others of the Scotch nobility, was appended to the letter, and there is indeed no doubt that negotiations were going on with France.

Arrest of Lowdon.

All these things showed the hollowness of the late truce. The King again determined upon war; but his money was now exhausted. He hoped for a moment to procure £150,000 for protecting a Spanish fleet which had been driven by the Dutch to take refuge in the Downs. But De Witt and Van Tromp forestalled the completion of the bargain, and attacked and destroyed the Spanish ships in the presence of the English fleet, which lay idly by. Charles was too weak to resent the insult, and accepted the apology of the Dutch. Disappointed of this means of recruiting his exchequer, he could find no resource left but an appeal to Parliament. Both the King and his Council seem still to have believed in the general goodwill of the country, which he hoped still further to excite by the production of the Scotch letters to France. He had no intention of governing in a constitutional manner, but hoped that the spirit of England was sufficiently broken to enable him to use the Parliament as a means of obtaining supplies. The spirit in which it was assembled (April 13, 1640) is shown by the fact that the illegal exaction of ship-money and Privy Seals was continued without intermission. But when the opening for which they had been longing was once afforded them, the leaders of the popular party had no intention of allowing the opportunity to slip. No sooner was the Parliament opened, than Pym began the old tale of grievances. In vain the King begged them for subsidies, in vain did he offer

Short Parliament called in expectation of renewed war.

Parliament, proceeding to grievances, is dissolved.

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in exchange for twelve subsidies to resign for ever his claim on ship-money, the Commons felt that this would be acknowledging the legality of its previous exaction. The bargain was refused, or was on the point of being so, when the King in anger suddenly dissolved the Parliament, which had sat only from the 13th of April to the 5th of May.

With strange infatuation, all the old measures of exaction were continued with renewed energy. Laud, blind to the national feeling, insisted on the Convocation sitting illegally after the dissolution, and establishing a new code of Canons. These commanded that every clergyman should instruct his people in the sin of resistance to the Government, while in addition an oath was drawn up, in wide and indefinite terms, to be taken by all clergymen and all graduates, to uphold the doctrine and discipline of the English Church.

The army which was to be assembled at York was placed under the command of Lord Northumberland, while Lord Conway, as General of the Horse, was stationed at Newcastle. The English commanders still dreamed of a triumphant march. Northumberland writes to Conway that "there is no use thinking of fortifying towns, for we are going upon a conquest with such power, that nothing in that kingdom will be able to resist us." But when they came to assemble their army, their eyes began to be opened. Funds were scarcely procurable. The Londoners refused to pay when a forced loan was laid upon them, and it had to be given up. A scheme for the debasement of the coin had also to yield to the opposition of the merchants. It was with the greatest difficulty that the ship-money was collected; and the troops, as they were brought to the rendezvous, frequently mutinied and put their officers to death.[1] The army indeed was so little formidable that the Scotch, acting perhaps upon a forged letter which Lord Saville had shown to Lowdon and his fellow-commissioner when in England, and which promised support from the English Reformers, crossed the Tweed at Coldstream, beat Conway's forces at Newburn upon the Tyne, and established themselves in Northumberland and Durham; thus commanding the coal-fields of England, and putting a strong pressure upon the industry of the country.

Financial difficulty and mutinous temper of the army.

Scotch invade England.

[1] Colonel Lumford writes that a large number of his troops "had run away, that the hue and cry of the country have no effect in regaining them; we are daily assaulted by sometimes 500 of them together, and have hurt and killed some in our own defence, and are driven to keep together upon our guard." And again, "The Dorsetshire men in a barbarous manner murdered Lieutenant Moon, and threatened the rest of their commanders, insomuch that they all ran away, and the soldiers being now at liberty, in all probability will endanger the towns and country."—Bruce's *Treaty of Ripon*, Camden Society.

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The King, now aware of his own weakness, determined to negotiate, and for that purpose summoned a great Council of Peers, a form of meeting which was in fact the old great Council of the Plantagenets, but which had been unused for centuries. Before this Council he laid the difficulties of the situation. A petition from London, signed by 10,000 names, and supported by a similar one from twelve Peers, entreated the King to summon a Parliament. The Council recommended a similar course. It became evident that that step was now necessary, and writs were issued for the 3rd of November. The Council of Peers was so far useful that their credit enabled them to supply the immediate want of money. On their own security they raised £200,000 for public purposes, and formal negotiations were opened at Ripon, where a preliminary arrangement was entered into, that until a final peace should be made, the Scotch army should remain in England, with a monthly payment of £40,000 from the English. The negotiations then adjourned to London, where the Parliament, subsequently known as the Long Parliament, was about to begin its session.

Great Council. Sept. 22.

Treaty of Ripon. Oct.

There was every appearance that this Parliament would be very different in character from the late one. The rapid dissolution of that assembly, and the continuation, in spite of its remonstrances, of the illegal actions of the Government, had removed all hope of compromise. The practical coercion which had been put on the King to oblige him to summon the present Parliament seemed to remove the danger of a speedy dissolution, and gave promise of an opportunity of making the national grievances at length heard. Pym had already used the words, "They must now be of another temper, they must not only sweep the house clean below, they must pull down all the cobwebs which hang round the top and corners. To remove all grievances, they must pull up the causes of them by the roots." It was with great unanimity of feeling that this was the necessary course, that the Parliament met. The leaders of the reform party were not, however, as yet either Destructives or Republicans, nor were they, for the most part, even Puritans. Their views were political, and in the truest sense conservative. They were desirous of removing those abuses which the Stuart Kings had introduced into the Government, and which overlaid the Constitution, and that ecclesiastical tyranny which, in the hands of Laud, had gone so far to extinguish all liberty of conscience. But in doing this they were but restoring the old constitution of England,

The Long Parliament meets.

The reform party.

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rewinning those privileges which had been the fruit of centuries of parliamentary action. Behind these leaders, however, there were men of other views. Puritanism, which had taken its rise in the reign of Elizabeth, clung to that form of Church government which Calvin had founded. This was modelled largely upon the republic of Geneva, which had afforded him refuge, and where he was all-powerful. In accordance with his tenets, moreover, his followers held that the State ought to be subservient to the Church, that God's government, as they would have phrased it, should be superior to man's. The inevitable consequence of these views was a tendency towards Republicanism wherever Presbyterianism existed: it had already shown itself in the United Provinces of Holland and among the Huguenot Protestants of France. Roughly speaking, then, the Reformers formed two classes—one political, one religious. As was certain from the nature of things, the most enthusiastic and vehement of these classes was the religious one. Therefore, without any particular interest in the religious questions, the political party found it necessary to make use of the strength this enthusiasm gave to assist them in carrying out their own reforms, and to supply that warmth and energy in which mere political parties are apt to be deficient. It is thus that we must explain the constant introduction of religious topics, and that close connection between politics and religion which is characteristic of the epoch. Pym well expressed the position when, during the "No Bishop" riots at the end of 1642, he refused to interfere, declaring that it would not do to discourage friends.

Its Puritan and Republican element.

It was in pursuance of the policy that the cobwebs which hung at the top of the house must be pulled down, that, after a few days had been spent in bringing before the notice of the House, by means of county petitions, the chief grievances of the country, Pym caused the door of the House to be locked and the key laid upon the Speaker's table, and proceeded with much solemnity to introduce the impeachment of Lord Strafford. "That ancient gentleman of great experience in parliamentary affairs," as the historian May calls Pym, was determined not to be thwarted, as the Earl of Bristol had once been in his attack on Buckingham, by the interposition of an impeachment on himself, which he knew Strafford was preparing. Before the doors were unlocked, the impeachment had been carried, and was at once taken up to the House of Lords. Strafford, at that moment with the King, heard with dismay the rapid action of his enemies. He hurried, with his usual

Impeachment of Strafford. Nov. 11.

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overbearing manners, into the House, only to be met with cries of "Withdraw, withdraw," and to find himself compelled submissively to listen to the charges against him, and to be carried off a prisoner, in charge of the Usher of the Black Rod. He saw at once that the charm of his personal authority was broken, and with extraordinary power of adapting himself to circumstances, assumed from this moment a submissive bearing very unusual to him. He directed his whole efforts towards the legal refutation of the charges brought against him, and appeared in a new character as the champion of the law. The charges were indeed heavy; but he at once saw their weakness, and wrote to his wife that he did not believe he could be brought within the law of treason on any of them. They referred to his conduct in each of his three great offices. He was accused of tyrannical and illegal conduct as President of the Council of York; of attempting to establish arbitrary government, and of several instances of personal oppression while Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; and as minister of England he was said to have advised the King to employ his Irish army to reduce his English kingdom to obedience. It was difficult to make technical treason out of any of these charges. The real charge which lay below them was one which had been voted without a dissentient voice in the House of Commons,—that he had endeavoured to subvert the ancient and fundamental laws of the realm, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical form of government. This, the Parliament held, was the highest form of treason.

Charges against him.

It was on the 11th of November that Pym had laid before the House of Lords the information of the impeachment. The actual trial did not begin till the 22nd of March. It was attended with all the solemn ceremony which the hearing by the Lords of an impeachment by the Commons, a form of trial long unused, required. Westminster Hall was prepared for the purpose. On a platform in the midst sat the Lords as judges; on their right ran the bar, at one end of which stood the managers on the part of the Commons, at the other was a desk for the counsel of the prisoner, who had a small desk for himself and his secretaries in the middle. The rest of the Hall was fitted with scaffolds, which were daily crowded by a thronging multitude, who came in the early morning to secure their places, and in their excitement never left them till the evening adjournment. Behind the Lords were erected boxes in which the King daily sat to listen to the trial of his great minister. It was a curious scene—the benches crowded with ladies eager in favour of the accused, and with his Puritan enemies longing for his blood. Every word and turn of

His trial. March 1641.

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the trial was watched with the keenest interest. In the brief intervals of business the Hall was filled with loud talking, and the hungry audience fell upon the provisions they had brought with them, regardless of the august presence they were in. And there, in the midst of the excited throng, with no time allowed him to prepare his answers, Strafford would turn his back for a moment upon his judges, consult in a few words with his counsel, and then proceed with admirable coolness and eloquence to combat every point as it was raised. His whole object was to keep himself clear of the charge of treason. With this view he virtually acknowledged much of what was alleged against him. It was, in fact, impossible to deny that he had received an enlarged commission as President of the North; had given the Council there all the authority of the Star Chamber; had systematically refused to the subject the right of appeal to the common law. It was impossible to deny that he had followed the same line of conduct with regard to the Castle Court in Dublin; that he had so managed the Parliament there, by taking advantage of Poynings' Law, as to escape the necessity of ratifying the graces which the King, during the preceding administration, had promised to the Catholics, and, to use his own words, to render the King "as absolute there as any prince in the world can be;" that he had acted with the grossest despotism towards the juries who had hesitated to find the verdicts he required with regard to the title-deeds of the proprietors of Connaught; that he had raised an army formed almost exclusively of Catholics; or that he had acted, especially in the case of Lord Mount-Norris,[1] with tyrannical severity towards his personal enemies. It was useless to urge as a set-off that the customs had been increased fourfold, that the victualling trade had been established, and the manufacture of linen had been set on foot. Even if each of those improvements had not been clogged by conditions which increased either his own position or the royal power,[2] the success of his government would have been no justification of the means employed. But granting all this, he urged there was nothing to bring him under the meaning of the Treason Act of Edward III. There was but one point left. This was the advice he was said to have given to employ the Irish army against the English Reformers.

His defence.

[1] This nobleman had been condemned to death by a court-martial for some trivial and hasty words against the Lord-Deputy. The sentence was indeed remitted, but he had to leave Ireland.

[2] He had obtained a large income from the tobacco monopoly; and by destroying the woollen trade, and monopolizing salt, had rendered Ireland dependent upon England both for food and clothing.

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At this point in the trial the Commons demanded leave to introduce fresh evidence. At the same time, seeing that the trial seemed likely to lead to a conviction of the prisoner for felony, but not for treason, the Commons determined to take the matter into their own hands, to constitute themselves both accusers and judges, and to bring in a Bill of Attainder declaring Lord Strafford guilty. This, like any other Bill, would have to pass both Houses, and to receive the consent of the King, but it entirely nullified the judicial action of the Lords. The new evidence, which was also the ground for the Bill of Attainder, was admitted. It consisted of a copy of some notes purporting to have been taken by Sir Harry Vane the elder during a council. These notes were said to have been found accidentally by the young Sir Harry Vane, who had communicated them to Pym. Repeatedly pressed, the elder Vane confessed the genuineness of the notes. The important passage of them ran thus, —"Your Majesty having tried all ways, and being refused, shall be acquitted before God and man; and you have an army in Ireland that you may employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience, for I am confident the Scots cannot hold out five months." As the question before the Council was the Scotch war, as the words immediately after the doubtful passage refer to Scotland only, a candid reader cannot but believe that "this kingdom" meant Scotland. Had the word been *that* instead of *this*, there could have been no question, and in the hurried blotted notes taken in the midst of the discussion, it was surely easy that the word might have been misreported. The evidence was really worth nothing. From the moment however that the Bill of Attainder was introduced, the trial, although continued, lost all meaning. The Bill itself passed rapidly, though not without opposition, through the House; it was read the third and last time on the 21st of April. In the minority against it there were fifty-nine members, among them Lord Digby, hitherto a staunch Reformer and one of the committee of the impeachment, together with the great lawyer Selden. Digby's speech, which, in spite of the character of the speaker, was a very dignified and noble one, was publicly burned by the hangman, and from this time Lord Digby himself became an ardent Royalist. The names of the whole fifty-nine were published, with the heading, "These are the Straffordians, betrayers of their country;" and the feelings of the people, which had already been exhibited in riotous crowdings about Westminster Hall, were thus still further excited. This pressure from without told upon the

Commons introduce fresh evidence. April 10,

and a Bill of Attainder.

Vane's notes.

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House of Lords, with whom Strafford, as a self-made man, who had never shown much respect to their order, was far from popular. The Bill of Attainder met with no strong resistance in their House. The King's consent was now alone wanting. It seemed almost impossible that he should give it. Already he had committed one breach of privilege during the passage of the Bill, by coming personally to the Lords and entreating them to find Strafford guilty of misdemeanour only. Already twice he had pledged his honour as a king that his late minister should lose neither in person nor in fortune, but the selfishness, which was the great fault of his character, overpowered his better feelings. On the 10th of May, with infinite sorrow, he gave his assent to the Bill, saying as he did so, "The Earl of Strafford is a happier man than I am." The following day he made one more despicable effort to secure even a respite for his friend. But it was not probable that a letter which closed with such words as these: "If he must die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday," should have much effect. On the 12th of May, at noon, the great Earl was beheaded.

Charles's consent to the Bill of Attainder. May 10.

Strafford's execution.

While the showy and dramatic character of the impeachment of Strafford renders it the most striking event of this period, much work as real and important had been carried on in the Commons. In every instance the political and religious parties moved hand in hand. They had each their enemies to overthrow, each their own abuses to remove, and each their future safety to secure. It was natural that the ecclesiastical head of the party of "Thorough," Archbishop Laud, should meet with a similar fate to that of Strafford. In December he was impeached; but, once removed from public life, he was regarded as harmless. More important matters demanded consideration, and his trial was postponed for some years. The two great leaders thus displaced, attention was turned towards other members of the Council. The fact that Mr. Secretary Windebank was a Catholic marked him out for the vengeance of the Puritans. Before three weeks of the session were over, the report of the Committee of Religion warned him that his time was coming. He accepted the warning, and before the articles of impeachment against him, which charged him chiefly with over-leniency to Catholic recusants, were produced, he had fled from England. The conduct of the Lord-Keeper Finch, the royalist Speaker of the third Parliament, the chief of the ship-money judges, made him equally obnoxious to the political reformers. Against him, too, articles of impeachment were produced, and he also sought refuge beyond the sea.

Impeachment of Laud. Dec. 1640.

Flight of Windebank and Finch.

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The vengeance of the Commons was by no means satisfied. All the Bishops were regarded as parties in the guilt of Laud, all the ship-money judges in that of Finch. Rudyard, a reforming member, well expressed the opinion in regard to the Bishops when he said that their real crime was their animosity against the Puritans. "Under the name of Puritan all our religion is branded, while, under cover of assaults upon a few Jesuits, all Roman Catholics are countenanced." The mixture of temporal power with ecclesiastical jurisdiction was the point which most grievously hurt the feelings of the Presbyterians. A Bill was brought in, known as the Restraining Bill, to deprive Bishops of their rights of voting in the House of Lords. The opposition it encountered in that House induced the Commons to follow it up with a more vehement measure, "for the utter abolition of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, Prebendaries and Canons," a measure known by the title of the Root and Branch Bill. By the skill of the royal partisans, this Bill was long delayed in Committee.

Root and Branch Bill.

Meanwhile the measures of the late Convocation were declared illegal; and, passing to political questions, the Commons declared the collection of ship-money contrary to the law; the six judges were impeached for asserting that the right of collecting it was inherent in the Crown, and Berkley, the Chief-Justice of the King's Bench, was carried off from the very judgment-seat by the Usher of the Black Rod; while, to secure the purity of the judges, a law was passed changing the words of their commissions, which were limited no longer by the pleasure of the King, but by their own good behaviour. The work of destruction was completed by the abolition of the three Courts,—the Star Chamber, the Council of the North, and the Court of High Commission.

Ship-money declared illegal.

The three Courts abolished.

In the midst of all these stringent measures, Parliament had been perpetually beset by the dread of a forcible dissolution. It was doubtless part of the art of Pym to keep alive such fears, just as it was a part of his art to arrange tumultuous gatherings and petitions. It was probably with real pleasure that, in the beginning of May, he received information of the existence of what is known as the Army Plot. The North of England was still burdened with both the Scotch and English armies. The Treaty of Ripon insured the payment of the Scotch army, which Parliament indeed, regarding the Scotch as their natural allies, had been ready enough to secure. The pay of the English army, meanwhile, fell

The Army plot discovered.

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largely into arrears; the officers were for the most part hostile to the Parliament. Want of pay bred discontent both among them and their men, and several of them, with Wilmot, the Commissary General, at their head, determined on a threatening petition. Goring, Jermyn, and others, at the advice of the King, were admitted to the officers' counsels, and Goring, a man of no character, had apparently recommended desperate designs, among which were a march towards London and an attempt to rescue Strafford. His ambition led him to desire the position of general, and, on the King's refusal to accede to this request, the plot seems to have dropped; and Goring, whose peculiarity it was to betray his friends, but to choose a time for the betrayal when but little harm could follow to them, gave an account to Pym of the exploded negotiations. It was made the most of. A strong feeling of fear was established. A Protestation, a sort of English Covenant, was drawn up, taken by the members of both Houses, and distributed through the country; and, more important than this, the House of Commons, which had already passed a strict Triennial Bill to ensure the frequent holding of Parliaments, went a step further, and produced a measure securing themselves against dissolution without their own consent, thus depriving the King of his undoubted prerogative of dissolution.

Triennial Bill passed.

This Bill was presented to Charles for his consent at the same time with Strafford's Bill of Attainder. He probably felt the truth of Pym's remark, who exclaimed, when he heard that he had signed the Bill of Attainder, "Has he given us Strafford? then he can refuse us nothing;" thoroughly beaten and reckless, he assented without scruple to the measure which virtually made Parliament his master. It is possible that at the beginning of his course of concession Charles was honest in his views, that he still hoped that by yielding some points he might keep the bulk of his authority untouched. But the fierce determination with which Strafford had been pursued, the self-contempt caused by his conduct to that minister, and the anger he must have felt against those who had driven him to such base conduct, had removed all real thought of honest compromise. Henceforward, when he yields, he yields with a purpose, the fixed purpose of revenge, and with a hope of one day triumphantly annulling all he may have conceded. He believed that he had still three things from which he could hope for help—the English army, the Scotch nation, and the Irish Catholics. With regard to the English army his plans had already failed; he had thrown the burden of

Bill against dissolving Parliament.

Charles's motive for yielding.

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supporting them entirely upon the Parliament, and fostered the discontent to which their want of pay had given birth. And though a second scheme, very much resembling the first, of marching upon the Parliament was subsequently set on foot, it also came to nothing. Parliament, warned by the danger, took measures, by the imposition of a large Poll tax, to raise sufficient money to get the army paid and disbanded.

His hopes from Scotland.

Charles had more hope of Scotland. In the midst of their most treasonable actions, the Scotch had always both expressed and felt great respect for Charles's person. The King had found means to tamper with the Commissioners in London, he had won Lord Rothes to his side, and even Alexander Henderson, the leader of the Covenanting clergy, had given signs of wavering. In Scotland itself, Montrose (whose influence with the Covenanters was eclipsed by Argyle, and who hoped, if he adopted the King's cause, to supplant Hamilton as his minister) had formed a Royalist party; and the King had been told that if the Scotch had satisfaction as to their religious and political liberties, they might be relied on. He determined to go thither, to grant everything that was asked, and to use the popularity thus acquired as a support against his own people. The English Commons,

Suspicions of the Commons.

suspecting some such plan, were very slow to let him leave London. It was only on the urgent request of the Scotch Commissioners, with whom they were compelled to be on good terms, that they allowed him to begin his journey. It was in vain that, on giving his assent to the Bills for the abolition of illegal courts, he urged them to let him go, recapitulating all the concessions he had made. "I hope you will remember I have granted that the judges hereafter shall hold their places *quamdiu se bene jesserint.* I have bounded the forests not according to my right, but according to the late customs. I have established the property of the subject, as witness the free giving up, not the taking away the ship-money. I have established by Act of Parliament the property of the subject in tonnage and poundage, which never was done in any of my predecessors' times. I have granted a law for a Triennial Parliament, and have given way to an Act for securing of moneys advanced for the disbanding of the armies. I have given free course of justice against delinquents. I have put the laws in execution against Papists. Nay, I have given way to everything that you have asked of me."

The suspicion of the Commons was thoroughly roused, especially by the King's reluctance, even while disbanding the English and

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Scotch armies, to get rid of the army of Ireland. When therefore he started at length for the North, care was taken that a Parliamentary Commission should attend him, nominally to advise, really to watch him, and to keep up that close connection which had already proved so useful between the malcontents of the two kingdoms. On reaching Scotland he followed to the full the line of policy which Montrose and his friends there (known as the Plotters) had marked out for him. There was no demand the Parliament could make which he was not ready to grant. "The end of my coming," he said in his opening speech, "is shortly this, to perfect whatsoever I have promised." In pursuance of this policy all the Acts of the doubtful Parliament of 1640[1] were acknowledged, the Committee, called the Lords of the Articles, was reorganized on a more popular basis; an act of pacification and oblivion was passed, omitting by name some of the more ardent Royalists, and the whole royal patronage was surrendered and vested in the Estates. Charles's friends in England watched these concessions with fear, expecting that the English Parliament would make equal demands. A note in the King's hand, appended to a letter of remonstrance which they had sent him, shows his own views on the point:—"I believe when all be done, they (the English Parliament) will not have such great cause for joy." The reconciliation was concluded by a distribution of offices and titles among his former enemies. Lowdon was made Chancellor; Leslie, Earl of Leven; Johnston of Warriston, a Knight and Lord of Session; even Henderson was given a pension of 4000 marks, and made Dean of the Chapel.

Charles goes to Scotland. Aug. 10.

The King believed that he had been quite successful, and he could say to his Parliament on his return to London, "I have left that nation a most peaceable, contented people, so that I was not deceived in the end of my going." Yet events had happened there which had but increased the mistrust of Parliament. A curious and somewhat mysterious event, known as "The Incident," had taken place, which was never cleared up. This was a plot, probably set on foot by Montrose, for killing or kidnapping Argyle and Hamilton. Although the King strenuously declared that he knew nothing of it, he never completely cleared himself of suspicion; and the leaders in England thought they saw in it an instance of a settled policy to seize and destroy the opposition leaders as occasion offered, a policy the existence of which the subsequent attempt on the five members renders probable.

The Incident. Oct. 11.

[1] The Parliament had continued to sit after its formal prorogation.

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Much worse than this was the Irish insurrection, which broke out just before the King's return to England. In that country, as has been seen, there were three great parties. The Scotch population of the North, Puritan in its religion, strongly reforming in its views; with them may be classed the English Protestants round Dublin, in fact the bulk of the Protestant population of Ireland. Of the Catholics there were two classes; first the Anglo-Irish of the Pale, headed by the Lords Antrim, Gormanstown, Fingal, and Castlehaven; Ormond, himself an Anglican, but in other respects sympathizing with them, was their chief; they were loyal Royalist in their views, full of hatred to the Puritans, anxious to continue the connection with England, and hoping for toleration as a reward for their allegiance. And secondly, the native Irish, Catholic also in religion, but before all things eager to dissolve the connection with the English, whom they hated as a conquering race, which had but lately deprived them of much of their lands both in Ulster and Connaught. It is certain that the King looked to the Lords of the Pale for assistance. He applied directly to them, ordering them to seize the Castle of Dublin, where the arms of the disbanded army were stored, and to keep the soldiers together as much as possible. Antrim and the other leaders were in hopes of being able to carry out their plans in a parliamentary way, but such were not the views of the native Irish, with whom they were compelled to ally themselves. Early in October, a meeting was held in Westmeath to make their plans. At that meeting the majority were for moderate counsels, but the minority, refusing to be bound by their decisions, determined on instant and violent action. They chose for their leaders Sir Phelim O'Neil, the nephew of Owen Roe O'Neil, who was their natural leader, and joined with him the Lords Maguire and O'Reilly and the two Macmahons, one of whom was Bishop of Clogher. They chose their time well. Parliament was to meet in November, and on the first of that month taxes and rents were due. A blow struck immediately before that period would find the taxes collected, but not yet sent to the Dublin Treasury. The 23rd of October was fixed on as the day of insurrection, because it offered the advantage of being a market-day, when the presence of strangers would be unobserved in Dublin. Well laid though it was, their plot in part failed. The Lord Chief-Justice, Sir William Parsons, was informed of the scheme by a certain renegade Roman Catholic, called O'Connelly. His vigorous measures saved Dublin, but in all the open country scenes of

Irish insurrection.

Three parties in Ireland.

Failure of the plot in Dublin.

Massacre in Ulster.

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horrible violence took place, accompanied by all the horrors which mark the sudden insurrection of a savage people. Neither men, women, nor children were spared, and where their lives were given them, the wretched English settlers were stripped, and driven in naked, shivering herds by their savage pursuers to the nearest towns of refuge.

Such an insurrection was not what Charles desired, but it is impossible to free him from the charge of having called to his assistance a wild and barbarous people whom he could not restrain. The rebels continued to act nominally as the King's army, and displayed a commission under the Royal Seal of Scotland. This seal is said by many to have been torn from an old charter, but it is curious to observe, that on the very day on which the commission was purported to be issued the Great Seal of Scotland was not in the hands of the Lord-Keeper; it had already left Hamilton's possession, and had not yet been placed in the custody of Lowdon, the new Chancellor. The King, at all events, pretended extreme horror at what had happened, and followed one of his usual devices for making the Parliament unpopular by at once shifting the whole responsibility of suppressing the insurrection upon them. In the full belief that he had secured the allegiance of the Scotch, and unconscious, apparently, of the mistrust which the Irish rebellion and the "Incident" had created, he returned to London, expecting to find there too a party not opposed to him. In fact, there was a rising feeling among those classes, who had aimed solely at reform, that enough had been done, and that the King's concessions were sufficient to secure public liberty, as indeed, had they been honestly made, with no afterthought of revenge, they would probably have been.

Question of Charles's complicity.

Under these circumstances, the King determined to follow the same course in England that he had followed in Scotland. The Lord Mayor was a Royalist, and, apparently at the instigation of the Queen, had succeeded in winning the consent of the Common Council of London to give the King a magnificent reception. He was therefore received on his return to his capital with signs of joy and popularity to which he had been long a stranger. This still further raised his hopes, and, as in Scotland he had established a reforming ministry, so now he drew to him some of those who had hitherto been his enemies. St. John was already Solicitor-General, Falkland and Colepepper took office, and Hyde, though he did not actually accept any office, became one of the King's most intimate advisers. Charles was thus ostensibly pursuing a liberal course. But behind those ministers there was a more intimate

Loyally received on his return to London. Nov. 25.

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band of advisers, headed by Lord Digby, who were the real confidants of the royal schemes.

The Commons, undeceived, issue the Grand Remonstrance.

But the leaders of the Commons were not to be deceived. They had probably been already warned by their Commissioners in Scotland that information had been there collected with a view to their impeachment, and they determined to meet the reaction which was setting in by a declaration which is known by the name of the Great Remonstrance. This was a recapitulation of every act of unconstitutional tyranny which had marked the reign, couched in strong language. It was in fact an appeal to the people, and a vindication of all that the Commons had done. To those, however, who trusted Charles, and could not see the necessity of it, it looked like a mere factious move, taken at a particularly ungracious time, just as the King appeared to be willing to accept constitutional government. It therefore met with much opposition in the House, and was carried, after a fierce debate, which lasted all through the night, by a small majority of eleven. So fierce was the strife, that an eye-witness[1] thus describes it: "I thought we had all sat in the valley of the shadow of death, for we, like Joab and Abner's young men, had catched each other by the locks, and sheathed our swords in each others' bowels, had not the calmness and great sagacity of Mr. Hampden, by a short speech, prevented it, and led us to defer our angry debate till next morning." The Remonstrance, which was from the Commons' House alone, was not only presented to the King, but published. It was, in fact, an appeal to the nation, and marks that point in the contest where the Commons began to act unconstitutionally, and when the House, hitherto almost unanimous, divided into two great parties, the one who thought enough had been done, the other resolved on more determined measures. Those measures were to be directed towards preventing any reactionary and violent step on the part of the Crown, which the leaders of the Commons, with just reason, dreaded. For that purpose they held it necessary that the command of the army should be in their hands, a wish which ultimately led to the demand that the militia, that was the only army at that time existing, should be put entirely into their hands. There were several intermediate steps leading to the final demand.

They demand a guard in vain.

The Commons' mistrust of the King's intentions was much increased by his removal of the guard, with which, during his absence in Scotland, they had surrounded themselves.

[1] Sir Philip Warwick.

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Again and again did they demand a renewal of this precaution, but the King constantly refused it, or at least refused such a guard as they considered necessary, to be placed under the Earl of Essex, at that time Lord-General South of the Trent, on whom they could rely. Their request was chiefly grounded upon the riots, which were of daily occurrence in London, fostered by Pym and the reforming party. These reached their height when the Bill for excluding Bishops from the House of Lords was again brought forward, and rose so high that the Prelates, after the 27th of December, found themselves unable to attend the House. Foolishly, at the instigation of Williams (subsequently Archbishop of York), they sent a formal protest, declaring all acts done without their consent null. For this they were impeached of high treason and imprisoned. But the Commons took advantage of the uproar to make a fresh demand for a guard. They had reason indeed to suspect that a violent *coup d'état* was in preparation. Numbers of gentlemen and discharged officers from the army had collected at Whitehall, where a public table was kept for them. Quarrels had arisen between them and the tumultuous city Petitioners, the nicknames of "Roundhead" and "Cavalier" had already been coined, and on one occasion blood had been shed by the King's partisans. In spite of these disturbances, however, the King refused to give the guard. His presence, he said, would secure the safety of all his subjects. "He would solemnly engage, on the word of a King, the security of every one of them from violence." This answer was given on the 3rd of January (1642).

Constant riots in London.

"Roundhead" and "Cavalier."

The word of a King was kept by the exhibition on the very same day of articles of treason against five members of the Lower House, Pym, Hampden, Holles, Haselrig, and Strode, and against Lord Kimbolton or Mandeville (afterwards Lord Manchester) in the Upper House. The King in fact believed that the hour of his revenge was come, and that he could play out the "Incident" on a larger scale than in Scotland. On the next day, having warned the Inns of Court, who were very Royalist in their feelings, to be ready at a moment's notice, he proceeded to the House, surrounded by his own guard and the Whitehall soldiery, with the intention of arresting the five members. Timely notice had been given, and they had fled. But—leaving his soldiers about the door, where they eagerly waited for orders to act, and demanded with threatening gestures, "When comes the word?"—Charles entered the House. He took the Speaker's chair, looked around at the vacant

Attempt to arrest the five Members.

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places of the five members, and after a short address, remarking that the birds had flown, withdrew amid cries of "Privilege, privilege." The birds had indeed flown, and taken refuge among the citizens of London. Thither the House followed them, and appointed a great permanent committee to sit in the Grocers' Hall. It was in vain that the King went himself thither, requesting the city magistrates to surrender the five members. They were not forthcoming. He was reluctantly forced to confess that his blow had failed; and, unable to bear the sight of the triumphant return to Parliament of those he had accused, he left London, never to return to it till just before his death.

Charles leaves London for York. Jan. 10.

He was now in the miserable plight of a plotter whose scheme has miscarried; he felt that his last card had been played, and that nothing was left but war. To carry on this with effect, and to give an opportunity for those who favoured him to rally round him, he determined to betake himself to a new capital, and settled upon York for that purpose. But before he could proceed to extremities, it was necessary to have his hands clear of domestic interests, and at the same time to find some means of collecting money. He therefore determined to send his wife abroad. He purchased a moment's respite by giving his assent to the Bill for the removal of the Bishops, and then hurried with his Queen to Dover, sending with her the Crown jewels, on which to raise money. The Commons, meanwhile, striking while the iron was hot, now demanded security from such violent measures as the King had lately taken. They entreated him to return to London, and to put the militia—that is, the trainbands of the country, the only constitutional army of that time—into their hands. The request was brought to the King at Newmarket. It was peremptorily refused. The King had taken his part, and meant to play it to the last.

Sends the Queen to Holland.

The next few months were occupied in preparation by the rival parties. Unable to obtain the King's consent, Parliament passed the ordinance of the militia without it. By this they were empowered to nominate the Lords-Lieutenants of the counties to hold power during their will. The King, on the other hand, retired to York, and was there disappointed to find the feeling by no means so thoroughly in his favour as he expected. What may be called the first instance of armed opposition to his orders took place at Hull. In that town were stored the arms and ammunition of the late Northern army. It was intrusted to Sir John Hotham, and Parliament now

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ordered that the magazine should be brought to London. The King, on the other hand, claimed it as his own, as no doubt constitutionally it was. On the Parliament's refusal to deliver it up, he attempted to use his personal influence, as he was throughout his life too prone to do. He appeared before the gates in person, but Sir John was true to his trust, and the King withdrew baffled. At once the ordinance of militia was put in force, and to meet it the King issued a Commission of Array. There were thus in every county two recruiting centres, the one attempting to carry out the Parliament's ordinance, and the other the King's commission. Active and energetic members betook themselves to their own counties to assist the Parliamentary claim, and England was filled with petty skirmishes and disputes.

Hull refuses him its arms and ammunition. April 23.

Ordinance of Militia, and Commission of Array. June 12.

It is difficult to draw a geographical line separating the Royalist from the Puritan party. It may be said roughly that the parts about London were belonging to the Parliament party, and the North and the counties near Wales were inclined towards the King. The only counties which were whole-hearted were those around London, and the Eastern counties, where Cromwell had already become important, and which speedily formed themselves into that great association which supplied subsequently the nucleus of the new-modelled army. As yet, however the levies on the Parliament side were either needy adventurers, to whom the pay was an object, or such men as the personal influence of the Parliamentary leaders could gather. Round the King, meanwhile, collected many nobles and gentry, bringing with them a train of dependants, what may be spoken of as their feudal followers, full of affection and reliance on their immediate leaders. Money was still wanting to the King. The arrival of a ship from Holland supplied this deficiency, while the young Princes of the Rhenish Palatinate, Rupert and Maurice, if they added no wisdom, at least brought military energy to his side. To Essex was given the command of the Parliamentary army, which gradually collected in the Midland counties. The Earl of Lindsay was nominally the Royalist general, but his counsel was practically overruled by the advice of the hot-headed Rupert.

Division of the country, Royalist and Puritan.

Essex and Rupert made generals of the two armies.

At length the crisis arrived. On the 22nd of August the King raised his standard at Nottingham, and aware at last that he could not rely on the inhabitants of Yorkshire, moved to Shrewsbury, at once to collect the Catholic

The King raises his standard. Aug. 22.

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gentry of Lancashire and Cheshire, to receive the Royalist levies of Wales, and to secure the valley of the Severn. The movement was successful. In a few days his little army was increased fourfold, and he felt himself strong enough to make a direct march towards the capital. Essex had garrisoned Northampton, Coventry and Warwick, and lay himself at Worcester; but the King, waiting for no sieges, left the garrison towns unmolested and passed on towards London, and Essex received peremptory orders to pursue and interpose if possible between the King and London. On the 22nd of October he was close upon the King's rear at Keynton, between Stratford and Banbury. But his army was by no means at its full strength; some regiments had been left to garrison the West, others, under Hampden, had not yet joined him.

Battle of Edgehill. Oct. 23.

But delay was impossible, and the first battle of the war was fought on the plain at the foot of the north-west slope of Edgehill, over which the royal army descended, turning back on its course to meet Essex. Both parties claimed the victory. In fact it was with the King. The Parliamentary cavalry found themselves wholly unable to withstand the charge of Rupert's cavaliers. Whole regiments turned and fled without striking a blow; but, as usual, want of discipline ruined the royal cause. Rupert's men fell to plundering the Parliamentary baggage, and returned to the field only in time to find that the infantry, under the personal leading of Essex, had re-established the fight. Night closed the battle. The King's army withdrew to the vantage-ground of the hills, and Essex, reinforced by Hampden, passed the night upon the field. But the Royalist army was neither beaten nor checked in its advance, while the rottenness of the Parliamentary troops had been disclosed, so that Cromwell told Hampden, that "it was plain that men of religion were wanted to withstand these gentlemen of honour,"—the secret which ultimately decided the fortune of the war.

The Parliament determined to regard this somewhat doubtful battle as a victory, and formal thanks were voted to Lord-General Essex. At the same time it was plain that the parties were more evenly balanced than had been thought, and the Parliament began to think of making overtures for peace. While the preliminaries of the intended treaty were still undetermined, and while a cessation of arms was still under discussion, the King suddenly moved towards London, and having advanced as far as Brentford, there fell upon an outlying regiment of Parliamentary troops. The alarm in London was great. The

Charles approaches London. Nov. 13.

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citizens were embodied in haste under Skippon; troops lying at Kingston were hurriedly brought through London. Essex himself took the command, and before long an army of no very good material, but sufficiently numerous for the purpose, prevented the further advance of the King. Essex indeed would seem to have been over-cautious, and, in his anxiety to put a strong force between the King and the City, made no attempt to disturb the retreat of the Royalists, who shortly fell back upon Oxford, which henceforward became the centre of their operations. Retires to Oxford.

The treaty, as was expected by the wiser Parliamentarians, came to nothing. As the terms demanded included the abolition of the Church, and the King's assent to the militia ordinance, it was not indeed likely that anything could have come of it. War was again the only resource, and speedily became universal.

The character of a civil war, when the question at issue is not one of geographical supremacy but of political feeling, precludes the possibility of any regular plan of action, and renders very difficult any consecutive narrative of events. There was local fighting over the whole of England. But it is possible to form some general notion as to the main centres of action. The headquarters of the King were constantly at Oxford, from which, as from a centre, Rupert would suddenly make rapid raids, now in one direction, now in another. Between him and London, about Reading, Aylesbury, and Thame, lay what may be spoken of as the main army of Parliament, under the command of Lord-General Essex. Not that this army was by any means the largest or best supplied of the Parliamentary forces. There was no very warm feeling between the Parliament and their general, and Essex had frequently to complain of the superior equipment and larger numbers of troops allowed to his subordinates. The other two chief scenes of the war were Yorkshire and the West. In Yorkshire the Fairfaxes, Ferdinando Lord Fairfax and his son Sir Thomas, made what head they could against what was known as the Popish army under the command of the Earl, subsequently Marquis of Newcastle, which consisted mainly of the troops of the Northern counties, which had become associated under Newcastle in favour of Charles. Newark, in Nottinghamshire, was early made a royal garrison, and formed the link of connection between the operations in Yorkshire and at Oxford. In the extreme South-west, Lord Stamford, the Parliamentary General, was making a somewhat unsuccessful resistance against Sir Ralph, afterwards Lord Hopton. Wales was wholly Royalist, and one of the chief Character of the war.

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objects of Charles's generals was to secure the Severn valley, and thus connect the war in Devonshire with the central operations at Oxford. In the Eastern counties matters assumed rather a different form. The principle of forming several counties into an association, already mentioned in reference to the North, was adopted by the Parliament, and several such associations were formed, but none of these came to much except that of the Eastern counties, which was known by way of pre-eminence as "The Association." Its object was to keep the war entirely beyond the borders of the counties of which it consisted. The reason of its success was the genius and energy of Cromwell, who, though not yet nominally commander of the Association (which was at first under Lord Grey and afterwards under the Earl of Manchester), was in reality its moving spirit. Beyond the exclusion of the war from their own borders, the object of the associated counties was to complete the conquest of Lincolnshire, and thus to connect London with the Fairfaxes in the North. The main obstacle to this—which remained an obstacle throughout the war—was the existence of the garrison of Newark on their north-western frontier.

The Association.

The year 1643 was on all sides disastrous to the Parliament. The army of Essex lay idle and useless, in spite of the remonstrance of Hampden and the more energetic commanders. A great plan was formed to bring up the armies of the Eastern counties to join it, and to fall upon Oxford; but the cautious disposition of the general brought to nothing what was in itself a hopeful scheme. The fighting was confined to skirmishes with Rupert's horse, which would every now and then beat up the quarters of a regiment. In one of these raids the Royalists got into the rear of the Parliamentary army, piercing as far as Chinner. Such an isolated movement was of course speedily checked. Hampden led the pursuit of the retiring Royalists. In crossing Chalgrove Field a slight skirmish took place, of no importance except that it cost the life of Hampden, whose energy as a commander had been such, that men were beginning to think of him as a more efficient Lord-General than the sluggish Essex. While the chief army lay thus idle, the Fairfaxes had been almost driven from Yorkshire by the superior power of Newcastle; they had been thoroughly defeated at Atherton Moor (June 30), and driven backwards to Hull. The arrival of the Queen (Feb. 22), bringing with her commanders, and arms obtained by the Crown jewels, had also much improved the posi-

Inaction of Essex.

Death of Hampden. June 18.

Royalist conquest of Yorkshire.

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tion of the Royalists in the North. Even the Hothams, who had shown their apparent devotion to the Parliament in refusing to surrender Hull to the King, now wavered. Timely information was fortunately obtained of their treason; they were brought to London, tried, expelled from Parliament, and subsequently executed. Hull was intrusted to Lord Fairfax, and there he gathered the remnant of his forces. Some timely successes prevented the complete conquest of Yorkshire. His son Sir Thomas, with the Parliamentary cavalry, escaped across the Humber into Lincolnshire, and made a junction with the Eastern troops. In company with Cromwell he succeeded in defeating his pursuers near Horncastle, at what is known as Winceby Fight. Meanwhile Lord Fairfax, breaking out of Hull, defeated Newcastle's army, and thus retaining his foothold in Yorkshire, gave an opportunity for a subsequent re-establishment of Parliamentary affairs in the North. In the West even greater disasters had befallen the Parliament. Lord Stamford had been defeated at Stretton by Sir Ralph Hopton; and Sir William Waller, whose early successes had gained him the title of William the Conqueror, was sent to re-establish the affairs of Parliament there. He was opposed by Hopton and Prince Maurice, suffered a heavy defeat in the neighbourhood of Bath on the 5th of July; and again, on the 13th of the same month, while besieging Hopton in Devizes, he was beaten, with the complete destruction of his whole army, by Lord Wilmot, who had marched from Oxford for the purpose of fighting him. Nathaniel Fiennes, too, to whom Bristol had been intrusted, had let that city fall without difficulty into the hands of Rupert (July 27). The West was thus almost entirely lost. In the East alone the energy of Cromwell had met with constant success. The battle of Horncastle has been already mentioned. Lincolnshire had been for the most part subdued, and added to the Association.

Checked at Hull and Winceby. Oct. 10.

Waller's disasters in the West.

Cromwell alone successful in the East.

Except in this one point, the affairs of Parliament seemed in a bad condition. They did not, however, despair. Waller, after his defeat, met with an honourable reception, and was even thanked for what he had done; and as hopes were felt that the Scotch might be induced to afford assistance, messengers were despatched to re-establish a treaty between the countries. The acceptance of the Covenant was made an indispensable condition of the alliance. The condition was accepted. The two Houses of Parliament, the army, and subsequently by slow degrees

To secure Scotch help the Covenant is taken. Sept. 18.

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the nation, the larger part of which was under Parliamentary influence, solemnly took the required oath. The management of the war, hitherto in the hands of a Committee of Safety, was vested in a joint committee known as the Committee of the Two Nations, and the Scotch at once set on foot an army of 22,000 men under Lord Leven. This treaty fully counterbalanced the late disasters of the Parliament.

Meanwhile the King had lost his opportunity. On the destruction of Waller's army he could probably have marched almost unopposed to London. The Lord-General's army had dwindled almost to nothing, he had constantly to be demanding reinforcements of men and money. It is possible that the refusal of the troops of Newcastle to join in the great movement may have been the cause of the King's blunder. However that may be, instead of marching to the capital, he turned westward to complete the conquest of the Severn valley, and laid siege to Gloucester (Aug. 10), the one important place there still held by the Parliament, expecting its immediate surrender. But Massey, the commander of the town, aided by the citizens, made a firm defence, and Essex for once exhibited some of those qualities which befitted his high command. His army was raised to 12,000 men, and he was intrusted with the duty of relieving the town. With a steady pertinacity, which was part of his character, he performed this duty. In spite of much opposition, after a march of twenty-six days, he reached Presbury Hill, overhanging the Severn valley, and made known by cannon shots his presence to the inhabitants. But the Royalists did not wait to fight; they immediately burnt their camp and withdrew. Having revictualled the place, Essex returned in the same dogged fashion to London. He chose the road across the Wiltshire Downs, and, as he came off them down to Newbury, he found the place already occupied by the King's army. A great battle was there fought, as indecisive as the battle of Edgehill. The trainbands of London, however, which formed the bulk of Essex's army, exhibited their soldierly qualities, and held their own against the numerous cavalry of the King. In this battle fell Lord Falkland, who, since the Grand Remonstrance, had been one of the King's chief advisers. A patriot at heart, though he had felt it his duty to follow the King, his chief wish had been the restoration of peace; the continuance of the war had thrown a settled gloom over his life; he seems to have sought rather than avoided death. Essex was able to continue his march to London, and the King again went to Oxford. The close of the year

The siege of Gloucester saves the Parliament.

Essex relieves it. Sept. 5.

Indecisive Battle of Newbury. Sept. 20.

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thus saw the fortunes of the rival parties still wholly undetermined, and the great crisis which might have proved fatal to the Parliament had passed.

Financial resources of the Parliament.

While the war had thus been going on neither party had been politically idle. On both sides financial difficulties had to be met. On this point the Parliament were in a better position than the King. In the first place, they were backed by the willing generosity of the wealthy population of London, and had besides, in their apparent position as representatives of the nation, the power not only of laying on taxes, but also of pledging the national credit. Besides the collection of the regular taxes, and the tonnage and poundage, their chief financial means were assessments upon the city and upon the counties which owned their government, loans on the national credit, raised at an interest of eight per cent., free gifts and subscriptions, the confiscated or sequestrated property of their enemies, and finally, an excise or inland tax levied upon a great number of commodities of home manufacture, especially upon liquors, but extending even to meat. They were even thus barely able to sustain their troops, and, early in the year 1644, we read of complaints addressed to Lord Fairfax by troops in the East, threatening immediate dissolution of the army unless money was forthcoming. One extraordinary tax, though it could not have been very lucrative, is so characteristic that it is worth mentioning. It was customary to have a weekly fast, and commissioners were appointed to collect from each household the price of one meal, whether they fasted or not, on those days.

Resources of the King.

The King's resources were of a less regular sort. He relied mainly at first upon the large gifts of his devoted followers, and upon the free service which many of them gave him. But subsequently, observing the advantage which the show of legality would give, he summoned to meet him at Oxford, in the form of a Parliament, all members who were his partisans, or had been rejected by the House in London, and any Peers who sided with him. Of the Peers a large majority joined him, of the Commons in all about 180, or about a third of the whole number. This quasi Parliament copied the expedient of the Parliament at Westminster and granted an excise, while the King again had recourse to the old plan of privy seals. This step gave him the further advantage of being able to speak of his opponents at Westminster as a small incendiary remnant, and as no real representative Parliament at all.

Another difficulty which, as King, he contrived to throw in the

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way of his opponents, was the adjournment of all the law courts to Oxford. It thus became necessary for the Parliament, for the purpose of carrying on the course of justice, to make a new great seal.[1]

Besides these questions, the Parliament was much occupied with ecclesiastical matters. To settle these an Assembly of Divines met at Westminster in the beginning of June. Though the Presbyterians were in considerable majority, the ability of the few Independents amongst them rendered their action very slow, but they did at length produce a Directory in the place of the Prayer Book; and after the Covenant had been taken, and a treaty made with the Scotch, promising as far as possible unity between the two kingdoms, the Presbyterian form of worship may be regarded as established. Yet it never took a firm hold of the people; it was only here and there that it was to be seen in its complete working. This diversity in the form of worship, making each parish in some degree isolated from its neighbours, gradually prepared England for the ascendancy of that Independent party which was rapidly rising in importance.

Assembly at Westminster. June 5.

State of religion.

It must not be supposed that even in the districts most devoted to Parliament there was no opposition. One reason probably for the inaction of the King in the early part of the year was his hope that he could raise a party in London. This hope was frustrated by the discovery of a plot, called Waller's Plot from the part which Edmund Waller the poet took in it. It had been the intention of the conspirators to publish a Commission of Array in London, to raise troops there in the King's name, and with assistance from the royal army to secure the person of the King's children, to apprehend the chief Parliamentary leaders, and to open the city to the King. The conspiracy was found out in time, its chief leaders punished (July 5), and Waller himself, who showed but a mean spirit on the occasion, was allowed to go abroad after paying a fine of £10,000.

In the beginning of the following year (1644) new combatants appear upon the field; on the part of the King the Irish, on the part of the Parliament the Scotch. Since the fearful outbreak of 1641 affairs had become much entangled in Ireland. The disputes at home had paralyzed the efforts of the English in that country. After the first surprise was over, some sort of opposition to the rebels had been organized. An army

Irish and Scotch take part in the war.

[1] The Lord-Keeper Littleton having fled to the King, a Commissioner sat in Chancery, and the only three judges who remained true to Parliament, Bacon, Reeve, and Trevor, presided in the three other Courts.

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of Scotch, under Munro, had taken possession of Ulster, and Lord Ormond, as the King's Lieutenant, had collected an English army round Dublin. On the other hand, the Irish, headed by their clergy, had established a general council at Kilkenny. They had there received a benediction from the Pope upon their efforts, and had entered into communication with the Catholics abroad. There still existed among them the same diversity of opinion which had marked the beginning of the insurrection, the Catholic Lords of the Pale being desirous to make peace with the King, the Irish and Catholic Churchmen being for more extreme measures. The natural difficulties of the position were still further increased by the turn which affairs had taken in England, which in fact rendered the organization of a combined national effort against the rebels impossible. All these parties—Ormond, the Scotch and the Irish—equally declared that they were fighting for the King: the Scotch, now that their country was in treaty with Parliament, refused to take orders from Ormond, the King's Lieutenant, and held Ulster as in their own right. Ormond's army was Royalist, and took its commands from the King. The Parliament had thus no representative of their own interests. Though the King tried to throw the responsibility of continuing the war upon them, and they in some degree accepted it, their efforts to send assistance were not earnest, and when their commissioners went to Dublin, by the King's orders they were sent home again. In fact, the interests of the parties in England led them to hold exactly opposite views as to the line of policy to be pursued in Ireland. The King, to whom England was more important than Ireland, longed to bring the Irish army to oppose his English enemy. The Parliament hesitated to strengthen what might be an instrument of offence against themselves, and yet could not but be desirous to support the Protestants and Puritans of Ireland. The King thus became anxious for a cessation of the war, which would set the army at liberty; the Parliament, unable to join heartily in the support of Ormond, yet wished to continue the national opposition to the rebels. But the King was in this instance master of the game. Early in 1643 he began to speak of a truce, and before the conclusion of the year, in spite of the remonstrances of Parliament, a cessation of arms for a whole year was arranged.

Truce with the rebels in Ireland.

It was concluded at almost the same time that the siege of Gloucester was raised; and early in the winter such of the Irish army as could be spared from garrison duty landed in Wales under the command of Lord Byron.

enables the King's army to act. It lands in Wales.

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It was against these troops that the Parliamentary efforts in the next year were first directed. Fairfax was hurried from Lincolnshire into Cheshire, and there, at Nantwich, destroyed the newly arrived Irish, capturing among other prisoners Monk, afterwards so famous, who, after a short imprisonment, took service in the Parliamentary army. On the very same day as the success at Nantwich the Scotch army crossed the Border. Their advance was not wholly triumphant; they were foiled at Newcastle by the Marquis of Newcastle, but still that nobleman found himself obliged to fall back towards York, fearing to be enclosed by the army of Fairfax coming from the South and the Scotch coming from the North. There seemed every opportunity of at length destroying the royal influence in Yorkshire. There, therefore, all available troops were hurried. Sir Thomas Fairfax, after his success at Nantwich, had advanced to the siege of Latham House, held gallantly for the King by the Countess of Derby; this siege he shortly resigned into the hands of Mr. Rigby, who completely failed in his attempts, and had to retire in disgrace upon the advance of Prince Rupert. But meanwhile Fairfax had hurriedly joined his father in Yorkshire, where it soon became plain that a critical battle would be fought, for there the armies of both parties were concentrating. Rupert was ordered to join Newcastle at York, and Manchester, who had assumed command of the Association with Cromwell, was brought up to reinforce the Fairfaxes. The Prince, evading the armies which were lying round York, crossed the Ouse, and effected a junction with Newcastle. The three generals, having united their armies, appeared with their combined forces upon the plains of Long Marston. The armies were not in presence till five in the afternoon, and it seemed as if even then no battle would take place. But about seven in the evening the Parliamentary generals began the fight. For the first time the Association troops, carefully formed and organized by Cromwell, in accordance with the principle he had laid down after Edgehill, met the dashing cavalry of Prince Rupert. The men of religion had at length been found to meet the gentlemen of honour. The victory of the Parliament, which was complete, seems to have been due to Cromwell. The Association troops were upon the left wing, opposed to Prince Rupert's horse. In his own description of the battle, Cromwell writes: "We never charged but we routed the enemy. The left wing, which I commanded, being

Is defeated at Nantwich. Jan. 25.

The Scotch enter England.

Gathering of the armies in Yorkshire.

Battle of Marston Moor. July 2.

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our own horse, saving a few Scots in our rear, beat all the Prince's horse. God made them as stubble to our swords; we charged their regiments afoot with our horse, and routed all we charged." While thus victorious upon the left, the Parliamentary troops had been so thoroughly worsted upon the right, that several generals, Leven among the number, had left the field, believing that the day was lost. But Cromwell's victorious wing, held back from pursuit by his prudence, fell upon the Royalists, disordered by their victory, and completely re-established the battle. It was with difficulty that Rupert could collect, after his flight, 4000 or 5000 men, while Newcastle, always at enmity with the Prince, and attributing his defeat to Rupert's bad management, withdrew to the coast, and retired in dudgeon to the Continent.

The fruits of the victory were the cities of York and Newcastle. The North of England was in fact conquered, and the troops and generals available elsewhere, where they were much wanted. It was Cromwell, and Cromwell's troops alone, who seemed able to secure success. In the rest of England all had been disaster. The two armies of Waller and Essex had attempted in vain to enclose the King at Oxford. By a simple stratagem he had got out of the city unsuspected, and passed between the two armies to Worcester. Essex was ordered to follow him wherever he went, while for Waller was intended the command of the army in the South and West. Between Essex and Waller there was a standing jealousy, and Essex, indignant at the important work being given to his rival, insisted upon leaving the pursuit of the King to Waller, while he himself undertook the Western campaign. Waller's pursuit was useless. The King succeeded in getting safely back to Oxford, and in inflicting a defeat upon his pursuer at Copredy Bridge. After this, Waller found his army disappearing, and had to return to London. Essex pursued his march into Devonshire and to Cornwall; but the King's forces, now free to act, gradually closed round him. His horse cut their way through the enemy, but the Earl himself, leaving his army to its fate, escaped by sea to Plymouth, and from thence to Portsmouth. His infantry, under Skippon, were forced to capitulate.

Parliamentary disasters elsewhere.

Copredy Bridge. June 29.

Essex defeated in Cornwall. Sept 1.

The Parliament received its fugitive general without complaint, speedily reconstituted armies both for him and Waller, and summoned Manchester and Cromwell from the East to their aid. The combined forces of these generals

After Marston Moor, Cromwell joins the Southern army.

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met the King at Newbury, as he marched from Basingstoke to Oxford.

Second battle of Newbury. Oct. 22.

This second battle of Newbury was as indecisive as the first. The King, who in the general opinion was worsted, marched off unmolested in the night, although there was a bright moon, to Wallingford, and thence to Oxford. He left his baggage and artillery in Dennington Castle, a stronghold close to Newbury, and fetched it thence, again unmolested, twelve days after. As Essex was absent from ill-health, the blame of this transaction rested with Manchester, whose want of activity brought to a point a quarrel which for some time had been rising between him and Cromwell, a quarrel which, though it took at first a personal form, was in fact one of principle, and the first step in the great contest between the Independents and Presbyterians.

Rise of Independency.

It has been already mentioned that the political views of the leaders of the Long Parliament were at first conservative; that conservative reform and the restoration of the old liberties of England under trustworthy safeguards were the objects they had in view. At the same time, the Presbyterian form of religion, which, as the only organized rival to English Episcopacy at that time existing, was the form to which the majority of the Puritans naturally inclined, was essentially republican. Its republicanism, however, was of a very dogmatic and tyrannical sort. Now the real fault of the Roman Catholic and English forms of religion—that fault which had excited the opposition of the greater part of the religious men of England—was their want of spirituality. For a time the less sensuous and more spiritual character of Presbyterianism seemed to satisfy the want of men's minds. But as that form of religion had become predominant, as its dogmatic character had become more obvious, the same class of deeply religious minds which had supplied the enthusiasm necessary to carry out the early reforms of Parliament

Cromwell's practical, religious, and political views.

gradually awoke to the feeling that the spirit cannot be confined under arbitrary forms at all, that different minds will of necessity form different ideas upon religious subjects. There had thus grown up a large number of earnest men to whom the tyranny of Presbyterianism was scarcely less irksome than the Episcopal tyranny it had superseded. By far the most prominent of this class was Cromwell, whose genius and energy had rapidly forced him forward into a position of great prominence. To him spiritual religion was everything, the outward form which it took mattered little. But his mind was not only devoted to spiritual religion, it was also in the highest degree practical, and the ill effects

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of Presbyterian tyranny had forced themselves upon his notice in more ways than one. He had set before himself the duty of forming an army, the members of which should be all of them thoroughly in earnest, and inspired with an enthusiasm capable of withstanding that enthusiasm which the sentiment of loyalty inspired, and who should at the same time be excellent practical soldiers. In carrying out this plan he had found himself frequently thwarted by the narrow theological views of the Presbyterians. Again and again we find in his letters marks of the opposition upon religious grounds which had been made to the employment of officers whom he could trust, and calumnious reports appear to have been set on foot against himself as a favourer of Anabaptists and sectaries.

The same practical tendency of his mind had led him and others of the same way of thinking to arrive at some political and social conclusions different from those which as yet had been prevalent. The conservative feeling of the English Reformers, and the loyalty of the Scots, with whom they worked in common, had induced them as yet to employ in all high places men of large property and high social rank, irrespective, in some degree at least, of their capacities, and to maintain on all occasions, even when most opposed to him, an outward respect for the King. In their most violent assaults upon Charles's policy it had been usual to introduce the clause "seduced by evil counsellors." Now Cromwell saw that this constitutional but illogical state of feeling tended only to prolong the war, while his practical knowledge of the working of the army led him to see that far abler generals might be found than the wealthy lords at first employed, who, moreover, were restrained, by the greatness of the interests they had at stake, from wishing to drive matters to extremity. The representative to him of these lukewarm, inefficient commanders was his own immediate superior, the Earl of Manchester. In him he seemed to see personified the ill effects both of the dogmatism of Presbyterianism and the undue respect for social position as contrasted with the real worth of the individual. The wasted success at Newbury brought matters to a crisis. Cromwell publicly charged Manchester in the House with having wilfully neglected to render that victory decisive. It was in vain, he said, that he had urged the General to allow him to fall with his horse on the retreating enemy and complete their defeat; and he accused him further of wilful mismanagement of the Association troops before his junction with Waller. Manchester, backed by the Presbyterians, and especially by Crawford, a Scotchman, whom the Presbyterian party

His quarrel with Manchester.

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had made his Major-General, defended himself, and recriminated upon Cromwell. But the sense of the nation, weary of the lengthened war, justified Cromwell's attack; and the open assault upon the aristocratic general tended much to hasten a project which had already been formed, of reorganizing, or, as it was then called, remodelling the army.

Self-denying Ordinance. 1645.

Cromwell and his friends—who never did things by halves, and who were bent, even at their own expense, at getting the war into more energetic hands—introduced, as a preparation for this reorganization, what is known as the Self-denying Ordinance. By this all members of either House of Parliament were made ineligible for commands in the new army. This at once, in an honourable way, would remove Manchester, Essex, Denbigh and Waller, and Cromwell himself, from the list of new commanders. The arguments by which it was supported—such, for instance, as the necessity for supporting the dignity of Parliament against the attacks of the King by keeping its numbers as full as possible; the danger which the Parliament ran of being accused of being self-seeking, and of wilfully prolonging the war for the sake of the authority with which it invested many of its members; and the certainty that as good or better generals were to be found among men of lower social rank—prevailed without much difficulty in the Lower House. In the Upper House, where the Presbyterian party was strong, after some debate it was rejected, on the ground that before passing such an ordinance it was necessary to know the form that the new modelled army would take. The object of the Self-denying Ordinance was no secret. It was understood to be a delicate way of getting rid of the old commanders. Cromwell urged the acceptance of the measure in a noble and patriotic speech. After remarking the danger the House ran of being charged with selfishness in continuing the war, he went on: "But this I recommend to your prudence, not to insist upon any complaint or oversight of any commander-in-chief on any occasion whatsoever, for as I must acknowledge myself guilty of oversights, so I know they can rarely be avoided in military affairs. Therefore, waiving strict inquiry into the causes of these things, let us apply ourselves to the remedy, which is most necessary. And I hope we have such true English hearts and zealous affections towards the general weal of our mother country, as no members of either House will scruple to deny themselves and their own private interests for the public good."

Checked by the Lords, the Commons proceeded to remove

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the objection urged, and to settle what the new form of the army should be. This remodelling of the army was in fact neither more nor less than the foundation of a great standing army. The cavalry had for some time had in some degree the character of regular troops. The length of time necessary to form an efficient horse soldier, and the wealthier class which the superior comforts of that service had induced to join it, had given it a character of permanence. But the infantry seem usually to have been hastily raised and ill-trained levies, collected more or less on the principle of the old militia. Thus, half-soldier, half-labourer, the infantry men had shown a constant tendency to desert. This explains the frequent melting away of the Parliamentary armies, and the great part played in all the battles by the cavalry. By the new model the army was to become a regular and permanent body. The great question seems to have been whether the new commander-in-chief was to get his commission direct from the Parliament or to hold it indirectly from the Lord General, in which case his power would have been shackled by the Presbyterian party. The triumph of the supporters of the plan was great when Essex surrendered his commission, and Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed commander-in-chief, with a commission held direct from both Houses, and with the power of nominating all the officers of the army. One further triumph the Independents won. Unable as yet to put aside the Covenant, they contrived that, though it had to be taken sooner or later, its acceptance should not necessarily form a preliminary step to appointment, but might be postponed to such convenient time as the Parliament might direct. By this relaxation it became possible to fill the ranks with efficient Independents. When the Lords were thus supplied with the shape of the new modelled army, a new Self-denying Ordinance was introduced, and finally passed on the 3rd of April. Essex was rewarded with a large pension, and died some two years after; while Manchester, whose virtues were civil rather than military, was put upon the Committee of both kingdoms.

Remodelled army.

While these important measures had been taken at Westminster with a view to the completion of the war, the Presbyterian party had had sufficient influence to set on foot some more useless negotiations with the King at Uxbridge. The demands of the two parties were found to be wholly irreconcilable; for Parliament still demanded the abolition of Episcopacy, the command of the army and navy, the continuation of the war with Ireland, and the right to nominate the great officers

Failure of Presbyterian negotiations at Uxbridge. Feb. 22.

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of state. The three great points—religion, the army, and Ireland —were to be debated in rotation; twenty days was the limit for the whole negotiation. The twenty days elapsed, and nothing had been done. The Houses refused to prolong the term, the treaty therefore came to an end. The presence of Vane and St. John, who were both Independents, may have had something to do with this result. Certainly the King seems to have retired from the negotiations with the knowledge of the complete division which had arisen in Parliament, and of the very destructive views held by the Independents.

Alarmed at the discovery of the danger that awaited him should he fall into the hands of the Independents, whose influence was constantly on the increase, and hoping something from the weakness which it was reasonable to suppose would be caused by the rivalry of party among his enemies, Charles was led to seek support on all sides and at any price. He instructed Ormond to change the cessation of arms at present existing in Ireland into a treaty, even at the price of the suspension of Poynings' Law, and of all penal acts against the Catholics. He thus hoped, as he said, that the Irish might freely and vigorously engage themselves against his rebels of England and Scotland, "for which no conditions can be too hard, not being against conscience or honour."

The Truce in Ireland changed to peace in the King's interest.

He had already formed the idea of obliging the Scotch allies of the Parliament to retire to their own country, by raising a Royalist army there. Even as early as April 1644, Montrose had made his appearance for that purpose at Dumfries. His efforts had been entirely unsuccessful, but the Earl of Antrim, with whom he had formed a combined scheme of action, had met with somewhat better success. He had been despatched to Ireland with the unscrupulous commission to treat both with the Scotch in Ulster and with the combined Catholics, and had been able to send some 1500 men, raised among his dependants, to the West Highlands, under the command of Alaster Macdonald, surnamed Colkitto. To this little army, while lying at Blair Athol, Montrose, who, after his unsuccessful visit to Scotland, had again withdrawn to the South, appeared in August 1644, and immediately found himself in command of a considerable army of mountaineers. His success at first was great. Lord Elcho's defeat at Tippermuir put Perth into his hands. In September Aberdeen surrendered. Argyle, Lieutenant of the kingdom, and a personal enemy both of Montrose and Antrim, succeeded indeed in checking his further advance, and then retired to

Montrose in Scotland.

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Inverary for the winter; but the difficulties of the season were overcome by the energetic Royalist commander. Inverary was surprised, the country of the Campbells laid waste, Argyle thoroughly beaten at Inverlochy, and the north of Scotland was placed entirely in Montrose's hands. Although he was subsequently driven by Baillie from Dundee, he still kept the mountains, and succeeded in beating Hurry (May 4, 1645) at Alderne, not far from Inverness, and Baillie at Alford, near Aberdeen; he was then able to advance into the Lowlands, in the neighbourhood of Stirling, where he again won a complete victory over Baillie at Kilsyth (Aug. 15). For the moment he seemed master of Scotland, and the hopes of the King, whose affairs had not gone well in England, rested on him.

The remodelling of the army had been attended with considerable difficulty. The old troops were much inclined to mutiny at the loss of their officers, and had Essex put himself forward in their interest, much damage to the Parliamentary cause would have ensued. Even when that difficulty was overcome, some time had to be spent in forming the new troops, and while Fairfax was thus employed during the month of April, the Parliament was in fact almost without an army. Even when it was formed, one of the new officers tells us that the disaffection was great, and that the chances were in favour of the King should he move rapidly and avoid a general engagement. During this time Cromwell, who had not yet laid down his command, was employed with Massey and Waller in restraining the Royalist army in the South-west, commanded by Goring. The expedition was tolerably successful, but its completeness was marred by the threatening attitude taken up by Rupert, who however subsequently withdrew to Worcester, intending, apparently, to march across England and assault the associated counties. For that purpose he summoned the King with a convoy from Oxford. To Cromwell was intrusted the duty of destroying that convoy, which he successfully performed. This duty was specially given him after he had returned to bid adieu to the general and resign his command. Again, on his return from Oxford, he withdrew into the Eastern counties, acting only in his civil capacity as one of the committee for those counties.

First campaign of the new-modelled army.

Meanwhile, early in April, Fairfax with his new army advanced westward to raise the siege of Taunton, which city Goring was besieging. Before that task was completed he received orders to enter on the siege of Oxford. This did not suit his own views or those of the Independents. They had joined their new army upon the

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implied condition that decisive battles should be fought. It was therefore with great joy that Fairfax received orders to proceed in pursuit of the royal forces, which, having left Worcester, were marching apparently against the Eastern Association, and had just taken Leicester on their way. Before entering on this active service, Fairfax demanded and obtained leave for Cromwell to serve at least for one battle more in the capacity of Lieutenant-General.[1] He came up with the King in the neighbourhood of Harborough. Charles turned back to meet him, and just by the village of Naseby the great battle known by that name was fought. Cromwell had joined the army, amid the rejoicing shouts of the troops, two days before, with the Association horse. Again the victory seems to have been chiefly due to his skill. In detail it is almost a repetition of the battle of Marston Moor. Cromwell commanded the right wing, Ireton the left; Rupert annihilated Ireton's troops, Cromwell was equally successful against the troops opposed to him. Checking the pursuit, he charged upon the flank of Rupert's returning wing, and the King's infantry seeing both its wings destroyed, broke and fled.

Cromwell continued in his employments.

Battle of Naseby. June 14.

The only army which now remained to Charles in England was that of Goring in the West; and by the confession of writers on his own side, the King's sole hope rested on the success of Montrose in Scotland, and on the negotiations he was carrying on with the Irish rebels. Into Ireland he had sent Herbert (son of the Marquis of Worcester), now made Lord Glamorgan, with secret instructions to grant, if necessary, the supremacy of the Catholic religion in that island,—terms which he had not ventured to grant in his public negotiations carried on through Ormond, but which were insisted upon by the Irish and clerical party in the Council of Kilkenny. In September Lord Digby writes to Ormond: "If his Majesty can once see his person secure from being thus daily hazarded and chased about, I see no reason why we should be at all dismayed with our many misfortunes here, since no man can think England divided (though the major part against the King), able to resist Scotland and Ireland entire for him with any considerable party here." Relying on these treacherous hopes, the King withdrew to Wales, and attempted there to form a new army, while Fairfax advanced triumphantly to the West, raised the siege of Taunton, defeated Goring at Langport (in July), and stormed Bridgewater, hitherto

Charles trusts to Scotch and Irish.

Mission of Glamorgan.

Fairfax victorious in the West.

[1] This commission was subsequently renewed again and again for periods of forty days.

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regarded as impregnable. Leaving the completion of his victory in that quarter for some future time, Fairfax then turned towards Bristol, which with Chester and with Hereford formed a line of Royalist fortresses across the West of England. Brereton, with the help of a certain number of the Scotch, was pressing Chester hard; the Scotch army was advancing to attempt the capture of Hereford. Charles, scarcely knowing where he was going, advanced across England to Newark, then back to Oxford, in time to hear that the victory of Kilsyth had had its effect, it had summoned the Scotch horse under David Leslie back to their own country. With renewed confidence he therefore advanced to Hereford, and raised the siege (Sept. 10), and was proceeding southward to do the same at Bristol, which he had regarded as safe in the hands of Prince Rupert, when he heard of the storm of that city. It was still possible that Chester might be saved. Thither the King now turned, but his troops were defeated outside the walls at Rowton Heath (Sept. 23). Almost at the same time he heard the news of the disastrous defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh (Sept. 12). Victory, as is not unusual with Highland armies, had been more fatal than defeat; the bulk of Montrose's followers had withdrawn to their own country, and he had marched with some 500 or 600 men to the Tweed, hoping to form a junction there with some troops which the King had promised him. While encamped upon Philiphaugh, in the neighbourhood of Selkirk, he was surprised by David Leslie and the Scotch horse, and his army annihilated. He himself escaped to the Highlands.

Fall of Bristol.

Defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh.

The war was now in fact over. In August, before the siege of Bristol, Cromwell had suppressed an organization which had been formed in Somerset and the neighbouring counties—really in the Royalist interest, though nominally to keep the war from their own borders—by the countrymen of those districts, who, from their rude weapons, were spoken of by the name of Clubmen. He had subsequently, in October, reduced most of the royal strongholds between Somerset and London. Lord Hopton's army in Devonshire was all that was now left to conquer; for the secret treaty of Glamorgan with the Irish had been discovered, and the King had been compelled to disown his own instructions, so that help from that quarter was no longer available. Against the Western army Fairfax advanced triumphantly, besieged Exeter, beat Hopton at Torrington, and finally enclosed him in Cornwall, where he

No hope from Ireland.

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was obliged to disband his army in March 1646. Almost immediately afterwards, Astley, the last of the King's generals, was defeated at Stowe-on-the-Wold (March 22); and the King, left without an army, remained in Oxford, the only point of great importance which still belonged to him. There were, however, other fortresses as yet unsubdued. These were one by one reduced, and finally, the King having left Oxford on the 22nd of April, Fairfax sat down before that city, which surrendered with the royal sanction on the 20th of June.

Destruction of the King's army in the West.

Capture of Oxford.

In the month of April the King had seen all his fortresses reduced, and was convinced that, as nothing further could be done in the field, he must himself leave Oxford, unless he was willing to run the risk of falling a prisoner into the hands of his enemies. From arms he turned to negotiation and intrigue. He had always an overweening idea of his own diplomatic skill, which indeed was not slight, while the duplicity of his character fitted him well for the pursuit of tortuous intrigues. He saw the jealousy which existed between the Presbyterians and Independents, and even more strongly between the Independents and the Scotch, strengthened, as in this instance it was, by national differences. Ignorant of the strength of the feeling which formed the basis of the union of these parties, relying upon the still powerful influence exercised by the name of royalty, and trusting to his personal skill, he began a threefold intrigue. He sent propositions containing considerable concessions to the Parliament, but was met either with refusal, or by silence which was worse than refusal, and when it was thought that he intended to appear in London, stringent orders were given to prevent intercourse with him. To Colonel Rainsborough, the commander of the troops about Oxford, he suggested that he should put himself into the hands of the army. Colonel Rainsborough answered that he could not act without Parliament. Thwarted by the good faith of these two parties in the plan which he had opened to Digby, being, as he said, "not without hope that I shall be able so to draw either Presbyterians or Independents to side with me for extirpating one another, that I shall be really King again," he applied to the Scotch. It has been observed that through all their opposition the Scotch had kept their loyalty. He hoped his appearance among them would further kindle this feeling. It was by French agency that he intended to set the negotiations on foot: direct aid from France, although in the course

Charles tries in vain to divide his enemies.

Flies to the Scotch at Newark.

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of the war it had been sometimes afforded, could not be relied upon, as that country was involved in a war with Spain; but an agent of the name of Montreuil was obtained to act as a go-between in the transactions with the Scotch. How far the King's hopes in this matter went he himself tells us in a letter to Ormond (April 13). "We are resolved," he says, "to use our best endeavour, with their assistance and with the conjunction of the forces under Montrose, and such of our well-affected subjects of England as shall rise for us, to procure an honourable and speedy peace with those who have hitherto refused to give ear to any means tending thereto." Montreuil was so far successful, that the Scotch Commissioners at London, where party spirit was at its highest, appear to have promised the King a favourable reception, and freedom from coercion both for his conscience and his honour. The Scotch Commissioners, with the army, although they probably knew of the promise of their compatriots in London, carefully avoided implicating themselves in it, and nothing but a vague pledge of honourable reception could be got from them. On this, however, the King determined to rely, and fled from Oxford (April 27), disguised as a servant of John Ashburnham, and attended by a clergyman of the name of Hudson. His own Council were ignorant of his designs, which were indeed such as could scarcely be avowed. Further to hoodwink them, he had directed his course towards London, but, turning northward, took refuge with Montreuil and the Scotch army before Newark. He was received with a show of respect, but soon found himself only in honourable captivity. The Covenant was at once pressed upon him, and it is not clear what the conduct of the Scotch might have been had he honestly made common cause with them. But he still believed in his power of temporizing; and, urged by some threatening votes of the English Parliament, the Scotch determined upon acting honourably and remaining true to their engagements. They declared that they had no idea of separating themselves from their alliance with the English Parliament, asserted that the King's letter to Ormond, which implied that they would join with Montrose to destroy it, was a damnable untruth; and, upon the Parliament of England voting that they could now do without the Scotch assistance, they retired northward, bargaining only for the due payment of their arrears of pay. This, to the amount of £400,000, was given, and they withdrew to Newcastle (Jan. 30, 1647), whither the English Parliament, whose jealousy was thoroughly aroused, ordered them to be followed by the

They refuse to join his intrigues.

Their arrears being paid, they withdraw, and give up the King.

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English army under Poyntz and Fairfax. One further chance of honest and straightforward treaty was given the King at Newcastle. Upon his refusing the articles offered him, which were similar to those offered at Uxbridge, but rendered a little more stringent, he was given over to the English Commissioners, and the Scotch army withdrew beyond the Tweed (Feb. 3).

It was during his residence with the Scotch, and in order to facilitate a treaty with any of the three parties, that the King had issued orders for the surrender of the rest of the fortresses which still held out for him in England. Even while at Newcastle, in the midst of the difficult negotiations between the Parliament and the Scotch, Charles, unable to accept the terms of any party, was still continuing his underhand treaties with the Irish rebels. In the autumn of the year before, the treaty which Glamorgan had contracted with them having come inopportunely to light, had been given up, and Glamorgan disowned and thrown into prison; but now two letters were written to Ormond, the one public, forbidding him to treat, the other private, and with exactly opposite orders, in obedience to which Ormond made a treaty in March on much the same terms as the disowned arrangement of Glamorgan. But even this did not satisfy the Irish clerical party, who, under the Pope's Nuncio, were holding a synod at Waterford. Victorious over the Scotch at a great battle at Benburb, O'Neil, the leader of the Ulster army, gave them his support; all who favoured the treaty were threatened with excommunication, and the war was pressed on, till Ormond, finding himself reduced to the alternative of surrendering Dublin to the Irish or the Parliament, honourably chose the latter course, and a certain number of troops under Colonel Michael Jones came from Chester, and upheld, though with much difficulty, the sinking English cause.

Ormond places the Irish war in the hands of the Parliament.

In obtaining the King from the Scotch the Presbyterian party had won a complete victory. They were now at the height of their power. They were freed from the presence of the Scotch army, yet on good terms with that country; they had the King in their possession, whom they now kept as a prisoner at Holmby House, and with whom they could refuse to treat except on the basis of the propositions offered in common with the Scotch at Newcastle. After some trouble in settling the rival claims of Church and State with the Assembly of Divines, they had succeeded in passing an ordinance establishing Presbyterianism, and the system was being set on foot both in London and in Lancashire. Their

Triumph of the Presbyterians in Parliament.

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triumph was everywhere complete, and they meant to enjoy it, having no real thoughts, even though the war was over, of re-establishing the old government of the country.

One danger still lay before them, and that was the army, which all those who disliked Presbyterian tyranny regarded as their safeguard. It was, in its turn, regarded with disfavour by the Parliament, which consisted in part of the displaced colonels of the old army, and which observed that many of the soldiers had not yet taken the Covenant. The City of London, of great importance as the chief source of revenue to the Parliament, was Presbyterian in its tendencies, and now petitioned for the disbanding of the army. This step the Parliament proceeded to take. The order was given that the armies should be broken up, with the exception of certain troops, which, under the command of the Presbyterian Generals Massey and Skippon, were to be sent to Ireland. But the Presbyterian majority did not appreciate either the strength of religious feeling, or of *esprit de corps* in the army, as created by the new model. When the regiments received the orders, they refused to dissolve, or to serve in Ireland under the officers appointed; advancing perfectly just claims for the payment of arrears (which were in some instances due for forty-three weeks), for an Act of indemnity for all acts done during the war, and for pensions for the widows of those slain. On these points they addressed a remonstrance to the House through Fairfax. These claims were further supported by the removal of the army to Saffron Walden (March 21). The Parliament attempted to suppress the rising spirit of the troops with a high hand, and votes were passed, in one of which they were spoken of as "enemies of the State and disturbers of the public peace." This was an insult which distressed them much. Believing that their claims were just, that among them the real patriotic spirit was alive, and regarding the leaders of Parliament as men who were wilfully postponing the settlement of the country for their own aggrandizement, such terms as applied to themselves seemed particularly misplaced. The Declaration in which the words were used was passed on the 30th of March. The army proceeded to organize a sort of Parliament, in which the privates were represented by men elected by themselves, and called agents or adjutators, a word generally changed into agitators. Several deputations from Parliament produced no effect. The Presbyterians, led by Holles, passed a new ordinance for raising the London militia to act as a counterbalancing power, and placed it in trustworthy Presbyterian hands. In May a third deputation, consisting of

They attempt to disband the army.

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Cromwell, Ireton, Fleetwood and Skippon, was sent down to inquire into the army grievances, and eight weeks' pay having been given, the orders for disbanding were repeated. But eight weeks' pay was but a small instalment of what was due. A great meeting of agitators, under the authority of Fairfax, was held at Bury St. Edmunds, and a rendezvous of all the troops called at Newmarket. At that rendezvous Fairfax and the officers demanded their pay and the removal of the slur which the Declaration had put upon their character. Matters assumed so threatening an aspect that even the strong Presbyterians, Holles, Stapleton, and Glyn, began to give way, and the offensive Declaration was expunged from the records of the House.

Rendezvous of Newmarket.

Meanwhile a step had been taken which somewhat changed the aspect of affairs. Cornet Joyce and 500 troopers appeared before Holmby House (June 2), acting without authority, but as they knew the army would approve. The King, who thought that at length the opportunity he had watched for had arrived, when the Presbyterians and Independents would destroy each other and make room for the restoration of his authority, was by his own consent taken to the army. He indeed insisted upon a form of coercion, apparently yielding to Joyce's significant reply that his commission consisted in the troops he had with him, "a commission," as the King said laughing, "written in characters fair and legible enough." But when Fairfax offered to release him from Joyce, he positively declined. He was taken to Newmarket, and treated with all respect. On the 10th of June a great rendezvous was held at Royston, or Triploe Heath, near Cambridge. The army assembled to the number of 21,000. The question was put to them by the Parliamentary Commissioners whether they were satisfied with the Parliament votes, and the answer was constantly given in the negative. The same afternoon they moved towards London, sending before them a letter to the City of London, declaring that their sole objects were their just claims, and the immediate settlement of Government, "Prevented by a few self-seeking men, who aimed at the privileges both of Parliament and people." At the same time the army demanded a termination of the present Parliament, and the dismissal of eleven of the most obnoxious Presbyterian leaders. As they still continued to approach London, these eleven thought it wise to withdraw. The Independents thus became for a time the majority in the House, and the leadership of the Presbyterian party devolved upon the City of London. For six weeks, from June 16th to July the 26th, the army lay round London,

The army gets possession of the King.

Advances towards London.

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approaching or withdrawing as its demands were refused or complied with.

The purified House had declared Fairfax's army to be the army of Parliament, and the new militia ordinance was repealed; and, although the parties were almost evenly balanced, the fear of the army gave such predominance to the Independents that it seemed as if the settlement which the army demanded might have been brought about. That settlement was gradually being arranged by Fairfax and a council of officers. It was considerably more liberal than the propositions which the Parliament had offered the King. The objects of the Independents were before all else the quiet settlement of the country and freedom of conscience. For these objects they were willing to sacrifice a good deal. They offered to go so far as to allow of the existence of the Church side by side with the Presbyterian worship, if only all coercive power was removed from both. They consented to except only five individuals from the general pardon, and even to restore the army and navy to the Crown at the end of ten years. At the same time they saw the necessity of restraining not only the Crown, but the Parliament which had introduced the Presbyterian tyranny. They consequently demanded biennial Parliaments and a reform of the constituency; and, as general improvements, desired the removal of the excise, an equalized land-tax, the abolition of tithes, and a shortening of the processes of law. On these terms they were willing to re-establish Charles in his power. For, as in one of their papers, probably written by Cromwell (June 10), they declare, "We desire no alteration in the civil government, as little do we desire to interrupt the settlement of the Presbyterial government, only we wish that every good citizen, and every man who walks peaceably in a blameless conversation, and is beneficial to the commonwealth, might have liberty and encouragement, this being according to the true policy of all states, and even to justice itself."

Moderate terms offered by the army.

The quiet progress of this settlement was suddenly interrupted by a great outbreak of Presbyterian London on the 26th of July. On that day the apprentices, "and many other rude boys and fellows among them, came into the House of Commons, and kept the door open, and their hats on, and called out as they stood, 'Vote, vote,' and in that elegant posture stood till votes passed," replacing the London militia in the hands of Presbyterians, and recalling the eleven. This scene of violence induced the Speakers of both Houses and the Independent members, on the plea

Presbyterian reaction in London.

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that they were under coercion, to withdraw from Parliament and take refuge with the army, which at once set itself to march towards the capital. It was in vain that the Presbyterian remnant of the House attempted to organize opposition, and to enlist forces under Massey, Waller and Poyntz. The approach of the army dissolved all these preparations; the Southwark militia fraternized with the troops, and at last the Common Council "resolved to send the General a humble letter, beseeching that there might be a way of composure." The army then marched through London, and subsequently took up its position round Putney and Hampton Court.

The army marches through the capital. Aug. 6.

It might have been hoped that Charles would have embraced the opportunity thus offered him for a prosperous settlement of affairs. But in his folly he still hoped that the rival parties would extirpate each other; and when the final propositions were brought to him, to the astonishment of his old friends no less than of his enemies, although the terms had they believed been already settled with him, he returned a flat negative. The secret reason of this was probably that, by the instrumentality of Lauderdale, one of the Parliamentary Commissioners, he was again intriguing with the Scotch, and not with the Scotch only, but at the same time with both Ormond and Capel, for a movement in his favour among his own followers. His constant duplicity, and the impossibility that was found of bringing about any treaty with him, was rapidly changing the views of the army. Cromwell, who had been foremost in the late negotiations, began to see his error and to throw himself more and more into the general feelings of the troops, among whom a stern and angry feeling was rapidly rising, leading them to demand the execution of the King. Indeed, a democratic and destructive party was being formed among them, known as the Levellers, whose influence gradually spread through all the ranks, reaching even those who did not thoroughly hold with them. Charles's residence at Hampton Court, where at first he had been well entertained, gradually assumed more and more the appearance of an imprisonment. He began to fear for his life. An unsigned warning, coming it is said from Cromwell himself, of approaching danger, and a belief in the probable success of the intrigues he was carrying on, induced him to fly (Nov. 11). The anonymous notice and a letter giving the reasons of his flight were found upon his table, while he himself pursued his course through the South of England. Ulti-

Charles refuses their terms already accepted.

His duplicity renders compromise hopeless.

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mately, about the middle of November, he took refuge in the Isle of Wight, where he hoped that Colonel Hammond, the nephew of one of his chaplains, would give him a favourable reception. From Carisbrook Castle, out of immediate reach of his enemies, Charles continued his negotiations on all sides. Their first effect was to make an open breach between the Parliament and the Scotch. Fresh efforts were made by the Parliament to bring about a final treaty. Four clauses were drawn up as an ultimatum; but before they could be arranged the feeling of the Scotch was shown by an attempt of their Commissioners to object to them. Parliament, in anger, passed a strong vote against any "foreign" interference, and the bills were laid before the King. But meanwhile the Scotch had obtained access to Charles; he had made a private treaty with them, and rejected the four clauses. Parliament at once broke with the Scotch, dismissed their Commissioners, re-established the old Committee of Public Safety, and passed (Jan. 15) what is known as the Vote of Non-addresses, by which it was resolved that no message should be received from the King, or application made to him, under the penalties of high treason. But the delay of any final settlement, now that the war appeared over, was beginning to have an effect upon the nation. While the Scotch were thus estranged, a reaction was taking place in England, and as a natural consequence the feelings of the army were becoming more and more envenomed against the King. In vain Cromwell tried to bring the views of the army and Parliament into unison. It became plain that he must choose between one party and the other. The course of affairs during the last year, and the danger of a total subversion of all the work of the civil war which began to show itself, induced him frankly to embrace the side of the army. A curious description is given us of a prayer-meeting in which he took part, where the army arrived at the conclusion that the present uneasy state of affairs arose from their turning aside from the simplicity of their course, and attempting to act politically, by entering into negotiation with Charles in the preceding year.

Flight to Carisbrook.

He intrigues with the Scotch. 1648.

The storm was soon to break, and the Scotch, the Presbyterians, and the Royalists to make common cause against the army. Hamilton, whose conduct had throughout the war been so questionable that the King had once imprisoned him in Pendennis Castle, had now, by a pretence of strict Presbyterianism, succeeded in procuring a vote from the Scotch Estates that 40,000 men should be raised for the invasion of England. In March, Poyer, a

Reaction. Scotch invade England.

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Presbyterian colonel, had declared for the King in Wales. An insurrection under Capel had broken out in Kent; the fleet had declared for the King; and in London a sufficient reaction had taken place to re-establish the Presbyterian influence. In fact, a second civil war had begun; and if the whole work of the Revolution was not to be swept away, it was necessary that the army should return to its proper work, and leave for the time political affairs in the hands of its enemies. It was not long in asserting its pre-eminence. While Fairfax defeated the Kentish men at Maidstone, and Capel was driven to take refuge in Colchester, Cromwell reduced Wales,

Are defeated at Preston.

and in union with Lambert defeated and annihilated at Preston Hamilton's Scotch army. This, with the subsequent fall of Colchester and the retirement of the fleet to Holland, completed the defeat of the Royalists. But during the absence of the army in service, the general feeling of the nation had induced Parliament to consent once more to attempt a reconciliation, and to open a final personal treaty with the King at Newport. But the success of the army had been too complete and too rapid to allow of its completion. Strengthened by their victories, the Independents began to raise their demands. Formidable hints occurred in their petitions suggesting the punishment of the King and the substitution of elective for hereditary monarchy. In vain the Treaty of

Negotiations at Newport.

Newport was hurried forward. The King still contested every point, trusting to the chapter of accidents. He procrastinated too long. The appearance of Colonel Ewer, with orders to take the King from the charge of Hammond, and the summons of Hammond himself to London, induced him, when too late, hurriedly to agree on the two chiefly disputed points. He allowed that seven of his friends should be excepted from the pardon, and that the Bishops should be suspended. The concession

Charles taken from Carisbrook.

came too late. The army was again predominant. The King was carried off and confined in Hurst Castle. The army marched to London, and on the Parliament declaring by a majority of forty-six in favour of the Newport treaty, extreme measures were adopted. On the following day Colonel Pride appeared at the door of the House. Lord Grey of Groby stood beside him; and, as the most important members of the majority approached, on a whisper from Lord Grey, Pride ordered his troopers to carry them off

Pride's Purge.

one by one to prison. Thus, on the whole, more than a hundred were excluded. The transaction is known as "Pride's Purge," and the remnant of the House, about fifty in num-

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ber, is spoken of as "The Rump." The army was now absolutely supreme, Parliament was its obedient subject, and government was really carried on by two military councils—an upper one, consisting of the officers, which was regarded with some suspicion by the mass of the army, and a lower one, consisting of representatives of the soldiers. Measures approved of by these councils were brought to the Parliament and there obediently sanctioned.

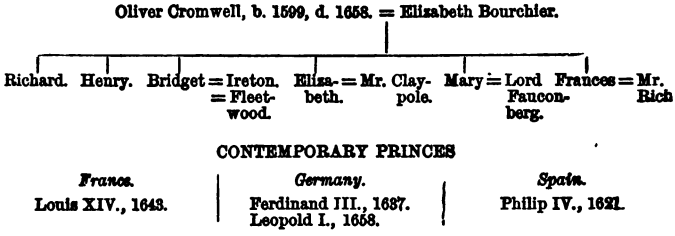
By this time the King's fate was sealed. On the 7th of December Colonel Harrison brought him from Hurst Castle to Whitehall. On the 23rd a bill was passed ordering his trial. On the first of the new year, to levy war against the Parliament and Kingdom of England was declared high treason, and a High Court of Justice was appointed to decide whether Charles had been guilty of that treason or not. The Lords indeed had the courage to refuse it, but the Commons determined to act upon their own authority. Though treated with much indignity as a prisoner, Charles seems still to have had hope. But the War of the Fronde incapacitated the French from coming to his assistance. The suppression of the late war had rendered the power of the army too absolute for opposition at home. On the 20th of January the High Court assembled in the Painted Chamber, under the presidency of Bradshaw, and with all the solemn apparatus of a court of justice. When called upon to plead, Charles refused to acknowledge the authority of the court. By the letter of the law no doubt he was right; but, as Bradshaw replied, the objection was not to the point, no court would allow its own jurisdiction to be questioned. Charles attempted in vain to demand a conference with a joint-committee of the Lords and Commons; and as he still refused to plead, sentence of death was passed upon him. He bore himself, as usual on public occasions, with calm dignity; and the words in which he declared himself the champion of the liberties of the English people, and the calm and religious temper in which he passed the last days of his life, went far to obliterate from the popular mind the tyranny of his earlier, and the duplicity of his later life. He was beheaded, before Whitehall, on the 29th of the month, saying upon the scaffold, "Sirs, it is for the liberties of the people that I am come here; if I would have assented to an arbitrary sway, to have all things changed according to the power of the sword, I needed not to have come hither, and therefore I tell you, and I pray God it be not laid to your charge, that I am a martyr to the people."

Trial and death of the King.

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THE COMMONWEALTH.

1649—1660.



THE death of the King was followed immediately by the declaration of the Commonwealth. In February both Kingship and the House of Lords were abolished, and the House of Commons was declared the supreme power of the nation, the executive power being placed in a Council of State of forty-one members, who were to hold their office for a year. Of these, three-fourths were members of the House of Commons. Although the House of Lords was abolished, some of the Peers still clung to the popular party. There were five among the number of the Council of State, and two at least got themselves elected members of the House of Commons. The administration went on without much apparent change. The Houses of Parliament had indeed so long exercised the supreme power that the formal assumption of it by one of them made but little difference. A new Great Seal was made, and six of the judges resigned, but the rest consented to keep their places on a pledge that the fundamental laws of England should be unaltered; and in other respects the administration continued as before. In some degree, to lessen the glaring absurdity of calling the few members who were left in Parliament the national representation,

Establishment of the Republican Government.

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their numbers were increased. All excluded members, except those who had been the victims of Pride's Purge, were readmitted, a certain number of vacancies filled up, and by these means the number of the House was raised to about 150. The punishment of some of the leaders of the second civil war completed the work of the establishment of the Government. The Lords Hamilton, Holland, Norwich, Capel, Goring, and Sir John Owen, were tried and found guilty, and although they had been admitted to quarter upon the field of battle, it was held that this did not extend to their civil guilt. The two last were alone spared.

Having set themselves firmly in the seat of power, the new rulers of England had to turn their thoughts towards the completion of their work in the other two kingdoms. The Royalist party being entirely suppressed in England, an opportunity was at length afforded of prosecuting with vigour the war against the Irish rebels, which domestic difficulties and the constant intrigues of the King had hitherto enfeebled. It was determined that Cromwell, whom all now recognized as the ablest soldier of the time, should be intrusted with the management of this war, and he took upon him, not without some hesitation, the office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and the duty of modelling or organizing the army for that purpose. He was met at the threshold with very considerable difficulties.

Cromwell continues Irish war.

The Levelling tendencies already mentioned had been suppressed for a time at a rendezvous held at Ware by the summary execution of Arnold, one of the ringleaders, but they had not ceased to spread. They had been kept in abeyance by the active work afforded to the troops; but now that the war was over, they again showed themselves in a more alarming form. Originally the fruit of mistaken religious views, they now acquired a more practical shape. Sometimes they were exhibited in a way that was harmless enough, as when certain men proceeded to dig and plant the waste lands in Surrey, declaring their expectation that England would shortly accept their view of community of goods. But in the army the effect was more dangerous. John Lilburne, always an open-mouthed upholder of individual liberty, became the leader of the movement. He, and those who thought with him, had expected as the fruit of their work some sort of millennium, and were disappointed when it seemed that a change of masters was all that they had gained. He published two famous pamphlets, one entitled "England's New Chains Discovered," and the other "The Hunting of the Foxes from

His difficulties with the Levellers.

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Triploe Heath to Whitehall by five Small Beagles," the foxes being the army grandees, the five small beagles certain troopers who had been punished for insubordination. Filled with these views, the troops refused to serve against Ireland. The regiments selected had been chosen perfectly fairly, but the idea got abroad that those were to be sent upon the service who were most opposed to the new order of things. The first actual mutiny, however, broke out in Colonel Whalley's regiment, which was not one of the Irish regiments. When ordered to quit London they refused, and at "The Bull," in Bishopsgate, an open mutiny showed itself, which was rapidly suppressed by Fairfax and Cromwell in person, and one of the ringleaders, Lockyer, was shot in St. Paul's Churchyard. He was a man of good character and religious life, and his death excited the strongest sympathy. His funeral was made a public demonstration: "a hundred went before the corpse, five or six in file, the corpse was then brought, with six trumpets sounding a soldier's knell, then the trooper's horse came, clad in mourning and led by a footman; the corpse was adorned with bundles of rosemary, one half stained in blood, and the sword of the deceased along with them; some thousands followed in rank and file, all had sea-green and black ribbon tied on their hats and to their breasts; the women brought up the rear." Immediately after this demonstration, the Levellers produced their programme in a petition against the new Constitution, which was known as the Agreement of the People. The petition suggested sweeping measures, such as annual Parliaments, the abolition of tithes and of the Court of Chancery, and the continued close adherence to the Self-denying Ordinance. At a review in Hyde Park many sea-green badges were seen, and though the influence of Cromwell suppressed disorder, the men's temper was not good; and news reached London that both in Oxfordshire and in Salisbury open mutiny had begun. In Oxfordshire, Captain Thompson broke from his quarters with about 200 followers, while Cornet Thompson, his brother, marched from Salisbury with the intention of joining him, or of getting to Gloucestershire, where there were other disaffected troops. Fairfax and Cromwell started rapidly in pursuit, and after an extraordinary march of nearly fifty miles, came upon the mutineers at Burford, broke in upon them when they were asleep, and took all the chief of them prisoners. Those who were selected for punishment were placed upon the leads of Burford Church, overlooking the place of execution. Thompson and two corporals were shot. This was considered vengeance enough;

They are suppressed.

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the rest were pardoned. Captain Thompson in the meanwhile had been killed in arms in Northamptonshire.

This was in May. On the 10th of July, Cromwell, as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, set out with much pomp for Bristol. It was uncertain what enemies he would there meet; for the death of the King, accepted in England, had had the effect of re-establishing the Royalist party both in Scotland and in Ireland, and the young King Charles II., who had taken refuge with his relative, the Prince of Orange, in Holland, pressed by both countries, was uncertain as yet to which he would betake himself. The Scotch universally recognised the King as an integral part of the Government, and in that country all parties were almost equally shocked with the turn affairs had taken in England. The professed Royalists were in exile with the young King, but the Presbyterian Estates and Church also at once determined to send Commissioners, offering to acknowledge him if he would but accept the Covenant. He hesitated on two grounds; on the one hand, Ormond, who had returned as his Lieutenant to Ireland, had gone far towards harmonizing all parties in opposition to the Parliament, and urged his presence there; on the other, Montrose and the Royalists were eager to try their fortunes again in Scotland, and Charles preferred to await the issue of their enterprise before purchasing the general national assistance at the price of acknowledging his father's faults and of accepting the Covenant, which he heartily disliked. The murder of Dr. Dorislaus, who had assisted at the late King's trial, and was put to death by some of Montrose's Royalist friends, compelled him to withdraw from the Hague. He sent an unsatisfactory answer to the Scotch, and withdrew to St. Germains, having resolved to try his fortune in Ireland.

Uncertainty of Charles II.'s movements.

Proposals of the Scotch.

Things there meanwhile promised well for him. Michael Jones had been with difficulty making head against the various rebel armies. He had defeated Preston at Dungan Hill, while Lord Inchiquin had beaten Taafe with the Munster troops at Clontarf. Disputes had as usual run high among the Irish. The Papal Nuncio had fallen out with the Council of Kilkenny, and had first fled to his friend Owen Roe in Ulster, and subsequently had withdrawn from the Island. But the King's death had for a moment healed all differences. Lord Inchiquin had himself changed sides. Even the Scotch Presbyterians, true to the letter of their Covenant, had declared against Parliament, and with the exception of Owen O'Neil, who was attempting negotiations with Monk in Ulster, the

and of the Irish.

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whole country seemed combined under Ormond; while that part of the fleet which had revolted rode triumphantly on the coast under the command of Prince Rupert. Dublin and Londonderry were the only strongholds which still held out for Parliament. Even the quarrel with O'Neil was before long healed. The Parliament refused to acknowledge any negotiations with the instigator of the Irish massacre, his own soldiers refused to obey Monk's orders, and O'Neil's Irish, after his death, which occurred shortly after these events, joined the great mass of Royalists. It was therefore to Ireland that Prince Charles first intended to go.

Cromwell goes to Ireland.

The difficulty of organizing his army kept Cromwell some time at Milford. His first intention was to land in Munster, but a great success won by Jones induced him to change his plan. Ormond bringing his army to Dublin, in the hope of triumphantly closing the war, was completely defeated, and his army destroyed by Jones at Rathmines (Aug. 2). An opening was thus afforded to Cromwell in the capital, whither, in company with Ireton, his son-in-law, as third in command (Jones ranking as second), he betook himself on the 15th of August. The arrival of Cromwell with his troops entirely changed the aspect of affairs. The army, which had become lax, was brought under the most rigorous discipline. All plundering and injury to the inhabitants was forbidden under pain of death, and with the determination to make a final end of the disturbances in the Island, Cromwell set sternly to work. From Dublin he advanced northwards towards Drogheda, waited some days in hopes of bringing on a pitched battle, then breached the walls and stormed the town. Thither the best of the English troops in the island had been sent under the command of Sir Arthur Ashton, an officer of known courage, who had declared his ability to hold the town. The defence of the breaches, as was to be expected, was obstinate, but ultimately (Sept. 11) the Parliamentary troops, led by Cromwell in person, forced them, and bursting into the town, refused quarter, putting to death all those who were found in arms. Some isolated strong points were surrendered at discretion, the officers and priests alone were killed, the common men taken prisoners and sent to the Barbadoes. Much has been said of the cruelty of this storm, but there seems no proof that any were put to death except the garrison, who were between 3000 or 4000 in number; and the hope which Cromwell himself expressed in the words—"The enemy upon this were filled with much terror, and truly I believe this bitterness will save much effusion of blood, through the goodness of God"—was fully realized.

His campaign there.

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From Drogheda, leaving Venables and Coote to relieve Londonderry and conquer Ulster, Cromwell turned southward. At Wexford he followed his unvarying plan of summoning the governor, with the warning, that if the summons was refused he must expect the extreme severity of a storm. The governor consented to treat, but upon terms ridiculously high; and while the negotiations were still pending, a chance quarrel brought on an assault, the city was stormed, and the same sharp measure dealt to the garrison as at Drogheda (Oct. 12). In this instance there seems to have been no distinct intention of such a thing in Cromwell's mind. The fate of the garrison arose from the accident of war. The effect of these two fearful victories was, however, instantaneous; few fortresses henceforward refused the summons. Before the close of the year all the South of Ireland, with the exception of Waterford, was in Cromwell's hands. While giving his troops a short rest during the winter, it had been determined that the Lord-Lieutenant should be summoned home to assume the command against the Scots. But he was again in action before the order reached him, and in the first months of 1650 had taken the town of Kilkenny, overrun the county of Tipperary, and completed its conquest by the capture of Clonmel (May 10). This closed his victorious career in Ireland. His presence was required in England, whither he at once returned, leaving the completion of his work to Ireton and Ludlow, who found but little difficulty in finishing what he had so well begun.

Recalled to England.

The victory of Rathmines and the subsequent successes of Cromwell had changed the views of the young King. He had brought himself to accept the bitter terms which the Scotch Church and Estates offered him, even though pressed home by their envoy, Winram of Liberton, with most uncompromising harshness. He had promised to make a final arrangement at Breda, in Holland, anxious to wait a little longer to see whether Montrose and the genuine Royalists might not still be successful. But disaster had throughout followed that nobleman. He had collected troops among the kingdoms of the North of Europe, but his transports were all wrecked on their way to Scotland, and it was with little more than 1000 men that he proceeded through the counties of Caithness and Ross-shire. There, at a place called Corbiesdale, he was entirely routed by the Covenanters (April 27), and subsequently taken prisoner, and executed (May 21) with all the vindictive insult which his hereditary

Charles accepts the Scotch proposals.

Montrose's defeat and death.

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enemy, Argyle, at that time paramount among them, could inflict upon him. The news of these disasters brought Charles to submission. With the singular selfishness and meanness which marked both himself and his father under similar circumstances, he disowned Montrose's efforts, accepted all the limitations required, and betook himself to Scotland in the capacity of a Covenanted King.

The command against Scotland was given to Fairfax, but Fairfax, though he had supported the action of the army at the time of the change of Government, had not approved of the execution of Charles, and was much under the influence of his wife, who was a Presbyterian. He declared that he had conscientious scruples against fighting the Scotch, with whom the kingdom had so lately been bound in the Covenant. The command was therefore transferred to Cromwell. It was not without great pain that he brought himself to fight against those whom he acknowledged as belonging to the great party of which he considered himself the champion, and which he spoke of as "the godly party" or "the good men." But to him it appeared that the cause for which he had hitherto been fighting—the cause namely of civil and religious liberty—was still at stake. Religious liberty meant to him freedom of conscience within far larger limits than could be hoped for under the supremacy of Presbyterianism; nor could he believe that civil liberty would be secured under a Stuart King still accompanied by large numbers of the old Royalist party.

Fairfax refusing to fight Scotland,

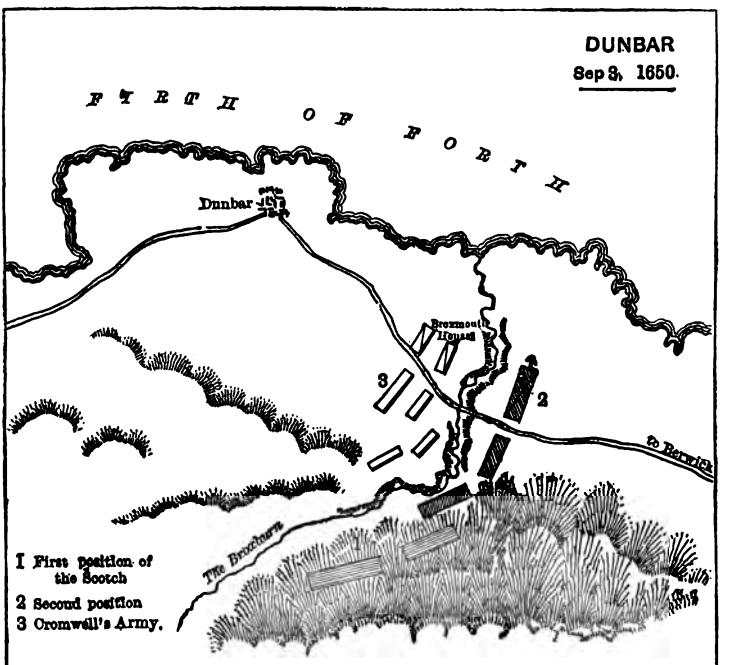
Cromwell accepts the command.

He passed the Tweed with an army of 16,000 men on the 16th of July. The Scots had placed themselves under the command of the old Earl of Leven and of David Leslie. As yet their army was a purely Covenanting one. By an act of the Scotch Church, called the Act of Classes, all known Malignants, and the Engagers (as those men were called who had joined Hamilton's insurrection), had been removed from the army. The country between the Tweed and Edinburgh had been wasted; and the inhabitants, terrified by ridiculous stories of the English cruelty, had taken flight; but Cromwell's army, marching by the coast, was supplied by the fleet. He thus reached the immediate neighbourhood of Edinburgh; but Leslie skilfully availed himself of the advantages of the ground and refused to be brought to an engagement. It became necessary for Cromwell to withdraw towards his supplies. He fell back to Dunbar, which lies upon a peninsula, jutting out into the Firth of Forth. The base of this peninsula

Wins the Battle of Dunbar. Sept 3.

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is at a little distance encircled by high ground, an offshoot of the Lammermuir Hills. These heights were occupied by the Scotch army, as was also the pass through which the road to Berwick lies. Cromwell was therefore apparently shut up between the enemy and the sea, with no choice but to retire to his ships or surrender. Had Leslie continued his cautious policy, such might have been the event. A little glen, through which runs a brook called the Broxburn,



separated the two enemies. Between it and the high grounds lay a narrow but comparatively level tract. Either army attacking the other must cross this glen. There were two convenient places for passing it: one, the more inland one, towards the right of the English, who stood with their back to the sea, was already in the hands of the Scotch. Could Leslie secure the other at the mouth of the glen, he would have it in his power to attack when he pleased. The tempta-

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tion was too strong for him, he gradually moved his army down from the hills towards its own right flank, thereby bringing it on to the narrow ground between the hill and the brook, intending with his right to secure the passage at Broxmouth. Cromwell and Lambert saw the movement, saw that it gave them a corresponding advantage if they suddenly crossed the glen at Broxmouth, and fell upon Leslie's right wing, while his main body was entangled in the narrow ground before mentioned. The attack was immediately decided upon, and early on the 3rd of September carried out with perfect success. The Scotch horse of the right wing were driven in confusion back upon their main body, whom they trampled under foot, and the whole army was thus rolled back upon itself in inextricable confusion.

From Dunbar Cromwell advanced to Edinburgh. The town fell easily into his hands, but the castle offered resistance; and while he was lying before it political differences began to show themselves among his enemies. Three parties were gradually apparent; one purely Royalist; another, a middle party, embodying the bulk of the Presbyterians and the high officials, of which party Argyle was the head; and in the West of Scotland a more extreme party, who considered any union with their Malignant King injurious to the cause. The Royalists contrived to entice the young King to fly from Edinburgh (Oct. 4), with the idea of putting himself in their hands. But as Charles found no troops to support him, and was quickly followed by the Covenanted troops, he returned. The Royalists made some movements in the Highlands, and required to be repressed by David Leslie, but the greater part of them thought it prudent to join themselves to Argyle's party. The Start, as Charles's sudden flight was called, alarmed the Covenanters so thoroughly that they henceforward treated the young King with more respect, and a resolution was passed, that in the present crisis all Scotchmen might be employed in the service of the country, thus repealing the Act of Classes. This resolution called out much opposition in the West, where a protest was drawn up against it, and the two parties assumed the names of Resolutioners and Protesters. The support of the Protesters Cromwell, trusting to the character of their religious views, had some hope of securing, and negotiations were set on foot with them; but though subsequently, on the settlement of the country, he succeeded in winning the friendship of some of them, and was constantly inclined to show them favour, they at pre-

Takes Edinburgh.

Division among the Scotch.

Protesters and Resolutioners.

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sent continued the war against him, and were defeated at Hamilton by General Lambert. Meanwhile the King was entirely in the hands of the Resolutioners; in January he was crowned, and renewed the Covenant; he then advanced southward, hoping to intercept a part of the English army which had not yet crossed the Forth. But Cromwell, moving with all his forces northward, avoided the danger, and subjugated the county of Fife and the city of Perth. But while thus pursuing his successes, he had passed the Scotch army, which thus lay between him and England. Charles took advantage of this mistake, and determined to push on at once and try and renew the quarrel in England itself. The news of his advance filled the Parliament with alarm. It was even thought that Cromwell had allowed the King thus to pass him on purpose, having come to some terms with him, while others believed, with more show of probability, that his object was to compel that party in England which disliked the present rulers to act energetically in self-defence. The very fact that the world could not believe in Cromwell making an error proves the high opinion generally formed of him. Whether accidental or intentional, the approach of Charles excited the people to action. Recovering from their first fright, the Council of State took vigorous measures. The militia was everywhere raised, and as Charles advanced, pursued by Lambert and Cromwell, the forces gradually closed round him. On reaching Worcester, he waited a few days, collecting his army round him; and was there overtaken by Cromwell, who had come by the eastern road from Scotland, and so across England. The attack upon the town was from the south. Worcester itself lies upon the eastern bank of the Severn. The attack was made on both sides, a bridge of boats connecting Fleetwood on the west with Cromwell and the main army on the east. This division of troops settled the plan of the battle. Charles, coming out of the town, fell upon the eastern army, entirely separated as he believed from Fleetwood and the west. But his attack was in vain. Cromwell, who had been with Fleetwood, hastily returned to the eastern bank, repulsed the attacks of the Royalists, advanced to the town, where he was met by Fleetwood, and the army, thus reunited, pushed the Royalists, still fighting, through the city, and so completely broke them that there was no hope of their again rallying. This victory was, as Cromwell called it, the "crowning mercy" of the war. Charles himself escaped; and after an adventurous flight of forty-four days, through the western counties and along

Charles is crowned.

Marches into England.

Cromwell overtakes him at Worcester, Sept. 3.

Charles escapes to France.

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the south coast, during the earlier part of which he owed his safety entirely to the fidelity of a labouring family of the name of Penderil, he succeeded in finding a ship near Brighton, which landed him safely in France.

Cromwell marched triumphantly to London. He had left Monk with 5000 troops in Scotland, who completed the conquest of that country, which was subsequently, by an ordinance of Cromwell, united to England. Both in religious and civil matters the period during which the kingdoms were united was one of remarkable prosperity. The government was indeed somewhat arbitrary, but on the whole carried on so as to call forth the praises even of Cromwell's enemies. "These bitter waters," writes one of them, "were sweetened by the Lord's remarkably blessing the labours of his faithful serva ts. A great door, and effectual, was opened to many." "Scotland," we are told by another, "was kept in great order. Some castles in the Highlands had garrisons put in them, which were so careful in their discipline, and exact in their rules, that the Highlanders were most successfully ruled by them. Forts were built, and an army of 8000 men kept, but there was good justice done. Vice was suppressed and punished, so that we always reckon those eight years of usurpation a time of great prosperity."

Cromwell's strong government in Scotland.

When a country is plunged into war, especially civil war, the victorious general and his army almost of necessity absorb the chief authority of the state. As far as England was concerned, the main business of the Parliament and the Council of State had been to supply means for the support of the army; they had met its requirements by a severe land-tax by no means popular. But abroad their duties had been more difficult. The capitals of the Continent were filled with exiled partisans of the late King. The feelings of the monarchical governments of those countries were naturally averse to the new republic. Even at the Hague, the Court of the Stadtholder, who had married the daughter of Charles I., was extremely hostile. The republican ambassadors had met with scant courtesy. One of them, Ascham, had been killed at Madrid, another, Dorislaus, at the Hague. Portugal had given refuge to Rupert, when his fleet had been driven from the coast of Ireland, at the time of the conquest of that country; and Blake's fleet had been fired upon when attempting to go up the Tagus. With Spain and Portugal negotiations were yet pending. In Holland, the death of the Stadtholder enabled the republican party, consisting of the wealthy mercantile class, to regain the direc-

Foreign difficulties of the Commonwealth.

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tion of affairs, and a plan was set on foot for incorporating the country with England in a republican union, in opposition to the Kings of Europe. But with these views the democracy of Holland, always attached to the House of Orange, had no sympathy; and the English ambassadors were still liable to insult. The English Parliament adopted a tone in its remonstrances which roused the pride of the Dutch; friendly relations were broken off; St. John the ambassador returned in anger; and shortly after the battle of Worcester the Navigation Act was passed, which forbad the importation of goods into England except in English ships, or in ships of the nation which produced the goods. A severe blow was thus dealt at the carrying trade of the Dutch, and the quarrel fast ripened into a war.

Navigation Act. Oct. 9, 1651.

Thus, without being particularly successful, Parliament carried on its work with fair dignity. Still its action had not been such as to give it any claim to a perpetual tenure of office. By the Agreement of the Nation, the document under which the present Government existed, it had been arranged that the Parliament—which it was plain to the eyes of all men was an oligarchy, and a very poor representation of the people of England—was to have been brought to an end in the year 1649. It owed its continued existence to the exigencies of the time; while the very life of the Commonwealth was at stake in war, it was impossible to risk a dissolution of the supreme Government, and all question of such a step had consequently been laid aside. Now that the war was over, Cromwell and the bulk of the army were anxious for a settlement of the nation. Continued anarchy, or continued arbitrary rule, was by no means what they had fought for. They were anxious to enter into the fruit of their labour—a settled and well-ordered Government, with good security for religious and civil liberty; for it must always be borne in mind that the army was quite unlike other armies, that it consisted of men of respectable position, of the most earnest religious convictions, who, whatever advantages they may have reaped by their position, yet believed themselves engaged in a patriotic and national cause, and were not influenced by any mercenary motives. The question then of the dissolution of the present Parliament was at once revived on Cromwell's return; and, in the meanwhile, pressure was put upon the Government to produce some of those acts which the army, and in fact the great Puritan party of England, regarded as necessary for the safety of their liberties. Under this pressure, on the 18th of

Oligarchical character of the Parliament.

Cromwell desires a settlement.

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November, a vote was passed, setting a date for the end of the Parliament; but it was put at an enormous distance, at not less than three years' time. It was supposed that this interval was necessary in order to settle the form which the future Government should assume.

Conference between the Parliament and army.

For that purpose a great conference was held in the autumn of this year between the Parliament and the army; and the rival views of those who were for a pure republic and those who wished for something monarchical were ventilated. The monarchists, who included in their number the greater part of the lawyers, wished one of the younger sons of the late King to be set up. The army was decidedly republican. Cromwell already expressed that conviction, which he afterwards put in force, that the government of a single person was necessary, but he certainly did not approve of the idea of a new Stuart king. It was believed that the influence of his son-in-law Ireton might have modified the monarchical views of Cromwell; but in the December of this year Ireton died in Ireland, where he was succeeded by Fleetwood, who also married his widow. Besides limiting their own existence, Parliament addressed itself to the reform of law—another favourite plan of the army. The committee for that purpose got so far as to vote that land, if registered, should belong to the owner who registered it without encumbrance; but at this word "encumbrance" a dispute arose which occupied three months, and nothing was done.

War with Holland.

Meanwhile the quarrel with Holland had become a war. After the battle of Worcester, the States had sent ambassadors to London to attempt an accommodation. But the demands of Cromwell were exorbitant. His views of foreign politics did not rise above those of the ordinary Englishman of his time. With the rest of his fellow-countrymen, he looked back to the reign of Elizabeth as the great epoch of national glory. He desired to restore England to that great position from which two reigns of vacillating kingcraft had degraded her. With that rough but sincere patriotism which he has shared with many other statesmen who have attempted to breathe fresh life into their native country, he thought the greatness of England was best secured by riding roughshod over the claims of other countries, and making her power acknowledged, whether the questions at issue were just or not. To his mind the position of England required that she should be supreme in the narrow seas He therefore demanded the honour of the flag, that is, he required the ships of all other countries to salute the English flag in the Channel. He claimed the right of search, dictated his own arrange-

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ments in the matter of the fisheries, and declared himself determined to uphold the Navigation Act, which was the real cause of the war. The negotiations on these points were still pending when Blake, meeting Van Tromp's fleet in the Downs, in vain summoned the Dutch Admiral to lower his flag. A battle was the consequence, which led to a declaration of war on the 8th of July (1652). The maritime success of England was chiefly due to the genius of Blake, who having hitherto served upon shore, now turned his whole attention to the navy. A series of bloody fights took place between the two nations. For some time the fortunes of the war seemed undecided. Van Tromp, defeated by Blake, had to yield the command to De Ruyter. De Ruyter in his turn was displaced to give way again to his greater rival. Van Tromp was reinstated in command. A victory over Blake off the Naze (Nov. 28) enabled him to cruise in the Channel with a broom at his mast-head, implying that he had swept the English from the seas. But the year 1653 again saw Blake able to fight a drawn battle of two days' duration between Portland and La Hogue; while at length, on the second and third of June, a decisive engagement was fought off the North Foreland, in which Monk and Deane, supported by Blake, completely defeated the Dutch Admiral, who, as a last resource, tried in vain to blow up his own ship, and then retreated to the Dutch coast, leaving eleven ships in the hands of the English. In the next month, another victory on the part of Blake, accompanied by the death of the great Dutch Admiral, completed the ruin of the naval power of Holland. The States were driven to treat. In 1654 the treaty was signed, in which Denmark, the Hanseatic towns, and the Swiss provinces were included. The war had been too objectless—the points of similarity between the combatants too numerous to allow of the terms being very important; such as they were, however, they were in favour of England. The Dutch acknowledged the supremacy of the English flag in the British seas; they consented to the Navigation Act; and the connection between the English and the leaders of the republican party in Holland was completed by the exclusion, through the influence of De Witt and the States of Holland, of William, Prince of Orange, grandson of Charles I., from the office of Stadtholder. The oligarchical party in Holland even promised to use all its influence to exclude the Prince from the office of Captain of the army of the States.

The war, whether wise or not, had terminated so honourably for England, that the other great countries of Europe began eagerly to seek for Cromwell's alliance. The expenses of the war had, however, been

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considerable, and it was thought right to meet them by new severity upon the Malignants; and those who desired a speedy settlement saw with great sorrow troops of peaceable Royalists hurrying to make what composition they could with the Committee of Parliament, sitting in the Goldsmiths' and Haberdashers' Halls. Thus a most inefficient representation of the people was arrogating to itself the supreme command; the honour of England abroad was but slightly vindicated; the Presbyterian system of Church government was very partially established; Church arrangements elsewhere were in a most anarchical condition; law reform halted, checked by an unmeaning legal quibble; old sores were raked up and punished in a manner which was seen to be arbitrary; and no hope of a final settlement of Government appeared. This state of affairs was not at all what the army wanted; and in August a strong and formidable petition from the officers was sent up demanding reform of the law, the settlement of a gospel ministry, and, before all things, a new Parliament. Cromwell was urged to repress and punish the petitioners; in fact, he favoured their cause. The petition had its effects. It began to be evident that neither nation nor army would tolerate the present Government much longer, and repeated conferences were held between the leaders of the army and the Government to arrange some way of getting out of the difficulty. The plan recommended by the army was to summon a certain number of well-known and well-approved honest and prudent men, and to leave the settlement of the future Government in their hands.

Petition from the officers.

The existing Parliament, clinging with tenacity to their power, could not be brought to see any alternative to the continuance in some shape or other of their own existence. At length, seeing the determination of the army, they set about bringing in a Bill for a new Parliament, as Cromwell himself afterwards complained, with as much unreasonable celerity as they had hitherto shown unreasonable slowness. The one critical point of that Bill was, that all the present members of Parliament were to sit again without re-election, and that to them it was to be left to decide all questions with regard to the new elections. This, which seemed to Cromwell and his friends a mere perpetuation of the Parliament under other forms, by no means suited their views. A great final conference was summoned, to be held on the 19th of April, in Whitehall. After both parties had stated their opinions, it was agreed that the conference should be renewed on the following day, the leaders of the Parliament party pledging themselves that no further

Parliament considers a dissolution.

Great conference.

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action should be taken on the Bill till that conference was concluded. Great then was the astonishment of Cromwell and his friends when they heard on the following day that the Bill was being hastened through all its stages, with such haste, indeed, that it was not even properly engrossed on parchment, that it was to be passed on paper. The dishonesty of the proceeding roused Cromwell's anger. For weeks past he had been struggling against his wishes to dissolve the House, and was loyally determined that it should be, if possible, induced to retreat from its position with honour. His mind was now made up. Taking with him a few troopers, he hastened to the House (April 20), and took his seat as usual as a private member. But as the debate went on, his patience became exhausted. He stepped forward on to the floor of the House, and gradually warming to his subject, began to speak hard truths to the members. "What right had they," he asked, "to be rulers of England? Some were known drunkards, some loose livers," and so on. Finally, when members tried to call him to order, he summoned in his troopers. Harrison, who was with him, helped Lenthall from the chair; and the House took its departure, so little regretted by the nation, that, as Cromwell afterwards said, not even a dog barked as they left the place. Some of the expelled members were men of high ability and character. Many of them afterwards appeared as friends and supporters of Cromwell, but it was plain at that time that they were bent on founding an oligarchical rule as prejudicial to English liberty as that of an arbitrary king.

Cromwell expels the Long Parliament.

Cromwell's own position was now a most difficult one. He was in fact the only constituted authority in the kingdom—the commander of all the troops raised or to be raised. He was, as he himself said and felt, the absolute master of the country. It was a position he had no wish to occupy; it suited neither his personal nor political views. He desired some final constitutional settlement, and thought of himself only as a man who had been providentially raised to a position in which he could maintain order while that constitution was being satisfactorily founded. He therefore at once proceeded to give effect to the project which the army had all along urged, and summoned an assembly of carefully selected men of well-approved life and religion.

This assembly was known as the Little Parliament. It consisted of men of very respectable character and position in the country, some noblemen, some afterwards the founders of noble houses, some merchants, and others. One of

Calls the Little Parliament. July 4.

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these merchants was a leather merchant in London of the name of Praise-God Barebone; the absurdity of the name gave a handle to ridicule, and the Parliament has been nicknamed Barebone's Parliament. It was a failure. As Cromwell himself afterwards confessed, the summoning of it was a mistake; the men chosen had, for the most part, gone too far in religious fanaticism and destructive social principles. The chief influence in it fell into the hands of the extreme party; and instead of confining themselves, as Cromwell would certainly have had them do, to a reform of existing institutions, they proceeded to a work of destruction. They passed a Bill entirely doing away with the Court of Chancery, and hints were heard of substituting the judicial arrangements of the Jews. They were proceeding also to destroy tithes, with a view of getting rid of all Church government. Afraid of what they were doing, and certain that their measures would not be approved by Cromwell—who, however radical in his love of personal excellence as contrasted with social or hereditary birth, was at heart a conservative, and loved what appeared to him the fundamental part of the English Constitution—the majority, in December, after a short session, voluntarily resigned into his hands the power which he had intrusted to them.

It dissolves itself. Dec. 12.

Cromwell was again sole master of England, and after much careful thought—the council of officers, and others interested in the nation, having now tried the plan of the army—he determined to try his own scheme of something monarchical. On Friday, December 16, a document was issued, called the Instrument of Government, by which he was given the title of Protector, associated with a Council of State, fifteen in number; and by this document a new and free Parliament was to be elected, 400 in number, the qualification both for electors and members being £200. Parliaments were to be triennial, and no Parliament was to be dissolved till after it had sat five months; there was some alteration in the distribution of seats; some rising towns elected members, certain decayed boroughs were disfranchised, and their members given to the counties. It differed principally from the plan of the Rump Parliament in two points, in the existence of a single Chief of the State, and in the fact that the members of the Long Parliament could only sit after re-election. The new Parliament was appointed to assemble on the anniversary of the battles of Dunbar and Worcester. The body of the nation again quietly accepted the change. It is not to be supposed that these repeated exertions of what appeared an arbitrary

Cromwell made Protector under the Instrument.

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power took place without exciting much anger. The excluded members of the Rump, the strong conscientious Republicans, and the whole class of Levellers were full of bitterness. But, on the whole, the better part of the nation acquiesced. The Council, which was drawn from men of various parties, was highly respectable in every way, and it may at least prove that there is much to be said for Cromwell that Milton, who had been the Foreign Secretary of the Long Parliament, willingly accepted the change, and continued to act under the new Government. Till the Parliament met, it was arranged that Cromwell's ordinances should have the force of law. For these months he was practically arbitrary, and he used his power with vigour. We have seen that his two great objects were the establishment of religion and the reform of law; the first of these he carried out upon a very liberal basis. He established a body of "Triers," and any man appointed to a benefice, whatever his particular form of belief may have been, unless he were a Romanist, having once satisfied these Triers as to the fundamental orthodoxy of his creed and the excellence of his life, was allowed to hold it. At the same time, in each county a commission was established for the exclusion of unfit clergy. With regard to the law, he issued an ordinance for the reform of Chancery, removing some of the enormous arrears to the common law courts. At the same time he began to foreshadow his foreign policy. Portugal found itself obliged to consent to his terms, although much incensed at the even-handed rigour with which Don Pantaleone Sa, the brother of the ambassador, had been executed for killing a man in a brawl. A close alliance was also contracted with Holland, Denmark, and Sweden.

His vigorous rule.

But, in spite of his success, his Government was constantly exposed to the plots of the two extreme parties. Discontent had frequently to be suppressed in the army, and a Royalist conspiracy, known as Vowel and Gerard's Plot, was discovered. Thirty troopers were to assassinate the Protector on his way to Hampton Court, and London was then to be raised in favour of the King. Both Vowel and Gerard, the chief conspirators, were executed, and several others imprisoned. In this state of feeling it was not without grave anxiety that the assembling of the new Parliament was watched. Declared Royalists had been excluded, but all other classes, neutrals as well as active Puritans, were admitted. When it assembled, it was found to consist of all parties, and the republicans were very strongly represented.

Vowel's plot.

The reformed Parliament. Sept. 3, 1654.

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It was opened with all the usual ceremonies, and Cromwell, addressing them in a speech of considerable length, pointed out the difficulties under which the nation had lain under the Long Parliament, its wars with Portugal and Holland, and threatened war with France; the suffering state of trade, and bad condition of the finances; explained to them his own conduct in continuing the taxes, in attempting some religious settlement, some reform of law, which the Long Parliament had assayed in vain, and his successful foreign policy. He pointed out to them that their first duties were the completion of these works, the planting of Ireland with English colonists, and the arrangement of the taxes, no longer as his arbitrary work, but as they ought to be, the self-imposed duties of the national representation. But, though this speech was admired at the time, it did not produce the effect which Cromwell desired. As he had probably himself feared, the freedom of election had introduced men of such various parties, that strong united action seemed impossible. Instead of producing that settlement which he wanted, instead of governing and legislating in accordance with the Instrument of Government, which was the existing Constitution, the various parties at once set to work discussing what ought to be the Constitution, especially questioning the advantage of a government "by Parliament and a single person." Now this, as we have seen, Cromwell regarded as a fundamental necessity. He therefore summoned the Parliament before him, explained to them the difference between "fundamentals which they might not touch and accidentals which they might," pointed out that in appearing to the summons issued by his authority they had acknowledged that authority, and demanded from each member a written recognition of the constitution of government by Parliament and a single person. A certain number refused the recognition, and retired sulkily to their counties. About three-fourths continued their work, but still wasted their time upon unessential alterations in the Constitution, leaving the Government and all reforms untouched. During the five months of their session they never once, as Cromwell complained, had any communication at all with him, and were in fact hindering rather than helping that general pacification and settlement of England which was his object. Though constantly fretting under this treatment of theirs, he determined to allow the five months appointed by the Instrument to elapse, but, to the astonishment of the House, he construed the five months as lunar months, consisting of

Will not produce the Settlement.

Cromwell turns out his opponents.

Parliament does nothing, and is dissolved. Jan. 22.

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four weeks each, and the very moment the twenty weeks had elapsed he dissolved them.

It was indeed necessary that they should be got rid of. The constant uncertainty in which they kept the nation afforded opportunity for plots on both sides. Both Royalists and Anabaptists began to raise their heads, while the army of Scotland grew discontented because no measures were taken to pay it with regularity. Not only did the extreme parties grow bitterer in their hatred to Cromwell, they began to make common cause, and the danger was becoming really threatening. The beginning of 1655 was marked by the discovery or outbreak of these plots. Major Wildman was apprehended in the act of dictating a treasonable declaration; and it became necessary to place in confinement the chiefs of the Anabaptists, such as Harrison and Lord Grey of Groby. In March the Royalist movement broke out in Salisbury, where Colonel Penrudduck and Sir Joseph Wagstaff suddenly rose in arms during the assizes, seized the judges, and were with difficulty kept from hanging them. They then proclaimed King Charles, and withdrew towards Cornwall. Near South Molton, the Parliamentary troops came up with them, and entirely defeated their followers. Several of the leaders, including Penrudduck and Grove, were beheaded, while others, found guilty of high treason and horsestealing, were shipped to the Barbadoes, a very favourite punishment of Cromwell's. Charles and Hyde, who was acting as his minister, were bitterly disappointed at the failure of the movement; and upon discovering that their plan had been disclosed by a man of the name of Manning, Charles stretched his rights as *de jure* King living in a foreign land so far as to have him shot in the dominions of the Duke of Neuburg, after examination before his Council.

Danger from plots.

Anabaptists.

Royalists.

The constant recurrence and wide ramification of these plots rendered vigorous measures necessary. Cromwell, without a Parliament, with no force that he could thoroughly trust except the army, found himself compelled to divide England into ten, and subsequently twelve districts, over which he set major-generals, with power little short of absolute, subordinate only to the Protector and his Council. These major-generals had the militia of their districts in their hands, and were particularly employed in assisting the Triers and Expurgators in supplying the Church with godly ministers. Regarding the constant plots of the Royalists as the chief causes of the additional expenses entailed upon the Government,

Cromwell's major-generals.

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they levied from the Royalists an income tax of ten per cent., known by the name of "The Decimation." Although arbitrary, the people, weary of disturbance, made no objection to this Government, which on the whole worked well and justly.

It lasted about a year, during which the energy of the Protector, having now secured domestic quiet, was directed to raising the character of the country abroad. His policy was a declared and simple one. His object was to set England at the head of the Protestant interest in Europe. With this end in view, when the Duke of Savoy attempted by force of arms and by persecution to convert the Protestant inhabitants of the Alpine valleys, Cromwell at once took up their cause, and refused to complete a treaty which Mazarin, the French minister, was most eager to form with him, till justice had been done. This treaty was itself part of his general plan. Adopting the views of the statesmen of Queen Elizabeth's reign, he still regarded Spain as the head of the Catholic powers, and it was to oppose that Court, and not to assist France, that he was willing to unite with Mazarin. His enmity to Spain had already taken an active form. Blake had for the last year been lying off the coast, watching for the Plate ships; and a great fleet and expedition, which had been raised with secret instructions, was found to be directed against the Island of Hispaniola, to deal a blow if possible against the Spanish interest in the West Indies. The expedition was not a success. It had been organized by Desborough, probably not well, and was intrusted to Admiral Penn, and to Venables as commander of the land forces. Neither of these officers gave satisfaction. They acted without energy, and were driven from Hispaniola. But to avoid the appearance of total defeat, they mastered the Island of Jamaica, at the time regarded as of little value. On their return to England they were both imprisoned for leaving their command without leave. But Cromwell determined to make the best he could of such success as he had won, and during the rest of his reign he eagerly pressed forward the colonization of Jamaica, of which the wealth and resources gradually became evident. In November the treaty with France was completed, and open war declared against Spain, the fleets to be employed against it being intrusted to Montague and Blake.

Foreign policy.

War with Spain.

Capture of Jamaica.

It was about this time that the question of the readmission of the Jews to England was raised, and a conference held on the subject. Cromwell was decidedly in favour of it, but the superstition of his

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counsellors was too strong for him; he could go no further than to admit of their residence in England upon sufferance. The war with Spain gave fresh opportunities to the Royalists. Charles again appeared upon the coast. An invasion even was dreaded; and Cromwell, who never liked his position as arbitrary governor, determined upon summoning a new Parliament to his assistance. In September it assembled; again he gave the members a short history of the events which had taken place, and of the constraint under which he had felt himself to undertake the government, and again urged upon them the necessity of restoring some sort of constitution. To secure some unity of action, he thought it necessary to exclude about a hundred of the most violent of his enemies. Thus arranged, the Parliament set really to work at its duties. This hopeful state of affairs was increased by the popularity gained by a great victory which Blake and Montague won over the Spaniards. The Plate fleet had been captured, and very visible proofs of the success were shown by the passage of thirty-eight waggon loads of the treasure from Portsmouth to London. At the same time, Cromwell found it possible to withdraw the arbitrary government of the major-generals.

Fearing invasion, Cromwell calls his Third Parliament.

The general success of the Protector had thwarted all plans of invasion which had been contrived by Spain and the Royalists. His enemies were again reduced to plots. Charles had long since offered large rewards for the head of "the base mechanic fellow who had usurped his throne;" and now, in January 1657, Colonel Sexby, an old leader of the Levellers, whom hatred for Cromwell had induced to make common cause with the Royalists, had been hatching plots to kill the Protector. Failing himself, he intrusted an old soldier called Miles Sindercomb with the duty. He at first arranged a sort of infernal machine in the windows of a house at Hammersmith, intending to kill Cromwell on his way to Hampton Court. On the failure of this plan he determined on a still bolder step, and attempted to set fire to Whitehall. This also was discovered. But the danger which had threatened the life of the man whom the whole Puritan party, with the exception of the extreme Anabaptists, regarded as necessary to their existence, tended to unite Parliament, which now, though many of its members had formerly been his enemies, combined in presenting him with a formal congratulation on his escape, and began to think that it was necessary to hedge him round with some more sacred securities than his Protectorship afforded, and to speak of making him King.

Plots against Cromwell.

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This growing feeling found utterance on the 23rd of February, when Sir Christopher Pack, one of the members for London, induced the Parliament to hear "an improved constitution for these nations," suggesting a second House of Parliament, and an increase of the Protector's power, even to give him the name of King. Pack's suggestion was afterwards incorporated in the document known as the Petition and Advice. By the end of March, the Petition and Advice had been voted by the House, and on the 31st of that month was presented to Cromwell for acceptance. It consists of eighteen articles, short and clear enough, and in fact restored, as far as was possible without recalling the old House, the ancient Constitution of the country. In all its essential points it exactly agreed with Cromwell's own views. As has been before said, he was at heart conservative, and believed thoroughly in the necessity of checks upon the arbitrary power, whether of the head of the executive or of Parliament. Whatever may have been his earlier opinions, all his later experience had tended to strengthen his conservative feelings. All the irregular methods to which he had been driven had been more or less unsatisfactory. His Little Parliament had been an absolute failure. His second Parliament, republican in character, had done nothing. His major-generals, though working well as a temporary expedient, had been constantly open to the charge of illegality. He felt that the continued government of the army was destructive to the civil liberties of the country. On the other hand, Parliament, when left to itself, had degenerated into an oligarchy, incapable of seeing any good apart from its own existence, and intent on establishing a tyranny in no way preferable to that of the monarchy it had superseded. He was therefore quite inclined to introduce an Upper House as a check upon the Lower, government in a single person as a check upon the Parliament, and the Parliament itself as a check upon the arbitrary tendency of the single person. He also, more than all else, had at heart a Church at once free and orderly. It was then with complete acquiescence that he heard the articles in the Petition and Advice, which secured the continuance of the tithes for the maintenance of religion, but which suggested that the religion thus maintained should be based upon a declaration of the Christian faith of the simplest character; all varieties of opinion in non-essentials and in the forms of worship being regarded as immaterial. He approved also of the establishment of two Houses of Parliament, as securing the civil liberty of the subject;

Proposal to call him King.

The Petition and Advice.

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and of the limitation set to his own power in the matter of the army, which was henceforward to be in the hands of the chief of the executive *and Parliament*. He even added additional clauses with regard to the arrangements of finance, to forbid any public expenditure except by the advice of the Council, and to render the Treasurers receiving the money accountable to every Parliament.

He objects to the title of King. May 25.

The only point on which he disagreed was the title of King, which was pressed upon him. Left entirely to himself, he might have desired the title, which, as many lawyers urged, was almost necessary for the maintenance of many of the existing laws, all of which had been drawn up under the supposition that there would be a King. But he thought it wiser—for fear, no doubt in part of the anger which such a title excited among his supporters in the army, in part because, as he pointed out, the reality of kingship might exist without the name, and partly for the sake of consistency—to refuse the title, and to continue that which he now held, the Protector of England. His position, however, was exactly that of a King, except that his title was not hereditary. Instead of this, he was intrusted with the duty of nominating his successor. The propriety of Cromwell's conduct in thus accepting the Petition and Advice without the royal dignity was a matter of much discussion even among his own friends. Several of the army commanders, as Whalley, Goffe and Berry, seem to have wished that he should have accepted the office, and founded a dynasty. Desborough, Fleetwood and Lambert were strongly opposed to it.

The session of Parliament pursued its course, granting what money was required, and was quietly closed by an adjournment in June, to give the Protector time to select his new House of Lords, which, with the present Commons' House, was to assemble, in conformity with the Petition and Advice, early in the following year.

His success abroad.

While affairs seemed to be going thus prosperously for Cromwell in England, he was raising the importance of the country abroad. The war with Spain was carried on with marked success at sea by Blake, who destroyed a second great Plate fleet in the Bay of Santa Cruz, and upon land, where a body of English troops were now acting under the command of Colonel Reynolds, and subsequently under that of Lockart, the ambassador to France. These troops had been sent by Cromwell on the understanding that Mardyke and Dunkirk, after capture, were to be given over to him. They had been employed however chiefly against inland fortresses, such as Montmédy and Cambrai, which was not at all what Cromwell desired.

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His pressing letters induced Mazarin to fulfil his engagement. In September, Mardyke was taken with the co-operation of Montague and the fleet.

But the appearance of general success was somewhat hollow. Every change in the Constitution roused afresh the hopes of the Royalists. Sexby, the Anabaptist colonel, who in his persistent enmity to Cromwell had become the chief agent of the Royalists, was in October apprehended as he was leaving England, where he had been spreading the pamphlet entitled "Killing no murder," and otherwise trying to organize a rebellion. In the winter Ormond himself came over from abroad, and entered into communication with all sections of the enemies of the Government, while Spain hoped to neutralize the successes of France and England in the Low Countries by assisting Charles to regain his throne. Cromwell was remarkable for his success in thwarting the plots formed against him, being much assisted by Thurloe, his Secretary of State. Even at this moment, Willis, a member of a small secret committee who had undertaken the management of Royalist affairs, and who were known by the name of "The Sealed Knot," was in his pay. Still the situation was grave, and the Royalists hoped much from the new Parliament. Nor were they wrong in expecting that the Government would find itself in difficulties.

Attempts at rebellion thwarted.

In accordance with the Petition and Advice, the members who had been excluded from the last session were now readmitted, and their influence, which was naturally directly opposed to Cromwell, was increased by the absence of a certain number of his greatest friends, who had been summoned to take their places in the new Upper House. For this body sixty-two summonses had been issued, but the difficulty of creating a new peerage was at once manifested by the refusal of such of the old peers as were summoned to take their seats by the side of the new creations. It was against the Upper House too that the Republicans of the House of Commons directed their assaults. They had been required to take an oath to the Protector and the Constitution, but Sir Arthur Haselrig and Mr. Scott, their leaders, seem to have taken a very lax view of the obligation it entailed on them, and at once proceeded to wrangle as to the name by which the new House should be called, and the amount of respect which should be shown it. After a few days thus idly spent, Cromwell called the House before him, and pointed out the danger which threatened the very existence of the Commonwealth unless they acted with unanimity.

Parliament reconstructed. Jan. 20, 1658.

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Conspiracies he declared to be rife in all quarters, an invasion threatening, and the Protestant cause still further weakened by the hostility of the Kings of Sweden and Denmark. But his words had no effect. The Republicans, smarting from their late exclusion, would do nothing but continue the old squabbles, and on the 4th of February, losing all patience, the Protector, charging them with breaking, or at least with wholly misapprehending the character of the oath they had taken, and pointing out the folly of risking a whole cause by their spirit of faction, dissolved this Parliament also.

It falls, and is dissolved. Feb. 4.

This was his last attempt at Parliamentary government. Each successive attempt that he had made had been a nearer approach to the old constitutional government of England. They had all been thwarted by the incorrigible obstinacy of a few determined Republicans, who could not forgive Cromwell for having overthrown their favourite scheme of government by the dissolution of the Long Parliament. It was very necessary for Cromwell to be able to act with energy. "Believe me," writes a contemporary, "that dissolution was of such necessity, that if their session had continued but a few days longer, all had been blood, both in the City and in the country, on Charles Stuart's account." With his hands now untrammelled, Cromwell set to work with his usual vigour. Arrests were made in all directions. Ormond was warned to leave London. A council of officers, the only council which he appeared to be able to trust, was summoned, and professed their devotion to him. The Mayor and Common Council made similar protestations. A sharp blow was determined on. Weary with the continual plots, and "considering that it was not fit there should be a plot of this kind every winter," a High Court of Justice was appointed according to Act of Parliament; and three Royalists, Sir Henry Slingsby, Dr. Hewit, and Mr. Mordaunt were brought before it. Hewit and Slingsby were found guilty and executed. Mordaunt and some others were brought before common juries, as Cromwell found that his High Court of Justice was not popular.

Cromwell absolute.

The conspiracies in England seemed for the moment trodden out. Turenne, mainly by the assistance of his English allies, entirely defeated the Spaniards under Don John and the Duke of York, and subsequently captured Dunkirk; apprehensions of foreign invasions were thus removed. Never had Cromwell's name stood so high in Europe. Ostentatious embassies were sent him from France. Louis XIV. was only prevented by illness from paying him

Respect for him abroad.

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his respects in person. But still his unconstitutional position was surrounded with difficulty. His expenditure considerably surpassed his income, and he shrunk from levying taxes in any manner opposed to the Petition and Advice, on which he grounded his authority. He was contemplating measures for assembling a Parliament, from which, in some way or other, the discordant Republican element should be excluded, when his triumphant career was cut short.

His health was giving way under the incessant anxieties of his life, and domestic sorrows were gathering round him and adding their weight to his burden. Mr. Rich, the grandson of the Earl of Warwick, who had but lately married his youngest daughter, died, leaving her a widow of only seventeen years of age; and Mrs. Claypole, his eldest and best-loved daughter, was seized with a painful and fatal illness. He watched her with the tenderest anxiety, and it was observed, immediately after her death, that his own health seemed totally to fail. On the 3rd of September, the day which had so often brought him victory, in the midst of a wild tempest, the great Protector passed away, after an illness rendered beautiful by frequent utterances of deep religious feeling, mingled with prayers in which he seemed to forget his family and personal interests in his fervent desire for the national welfare. "Towards morning he used divers holy expressions, implying much inward consolation and peace; among the rest he spake some exceeding self-debasing words, annihilating and judging himself. And truly it was observed, that a public spirit to God's cause did breathe in him—as in his lifetime, so now to his very last."[1] He should have named his successor. When Thurloe asked him who it was to be, he said the name would be found in a sealed paper already drawn up at Hampton Court. It was sought for in vain. It seems very doubtful whether he ever named his successor at all. However, Thurloe and other officers who were with him spread a report that he had nominated his eldest son Richard.

His death. Sept. 3, 1658.

The national history of the last nine years has been almost exclusively personal. In the presence of a man of predominating genius, such as Cromwell, it could not be otherwise. His history has in fact been the history of the nation. It was he, and he alone, who rendered the existence of a Commonwealth possible, and who represented the English nation in the eyes of foreign statesmen. With his death closed the only attempt upon record to realize national government based upon religion. In him

His character.

[1] Pamphlet quoted in Carlyle's *Cromwell*.

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had been joined the two principles which had been at work in the Revolution—the political and the religious. With his enemies, and they were very numerous, one or other of those ideas, but not both, was prominent. One section was pledged to a republican form of government; a second to a Presbyterian form of worship; a third to complete liberty of conscience, carried into civil as well as into religious life, and producing a hatred of all government, in fact anarchy. Cromwell combined all these. The old cause, which he so frequently mentioned, and to which he devoted himself, was the cause of civil and religious liberty. But that liberty he felt could be secured only by good government, and that government must have a fixed form. He therefore advocated the widest religious toleration, with the exception always of Papistry, but clung tenaciously to the idea of a regular State-paid clergy; while civil liberty was to be secured by a system of checks almost exactly analogous to the old Constitution of England, but with the fundamental exception that personal merit was to take the place of hereditary and social merit. But this very view, although in theory its excellence cannot be questioned, was the cause of the subsequent failure of his plans. The very greatness of his personal superiority prevented him from making a good constitutional monarch. The clearness with which he set his ends before him destroyed his sympathy with those who thought differently from himself. His earnest desire to arrive rapidly at his ends deprived him of that patience which is a necessary part of the character of those who would rule by means of popular assemblies. Consequently all his honest and well-meant efforts to produce liberty resting upon constitutional safeguards terminated in personal government. He could not get rid of the responsibility he had undertaken. We therefore find in his government many of those faults which seem inseparable from personal government—arbitrary and overbearing actions; a growing feeling of personal worth and love of personal dignity; and a tendency towards an exaggerated liberality both of confidence and of rewards towards members of his own family, although nothing is more striking than the success with which he chose fitting instruments for his purposes, and the knowledge he seems to have possessed of the character of men of all classes and in all parts of England. It was these faults which rendered his rule less loved than feared, and upon his death opened the door to that scene of anarchy which ended in the Restoration.

It seemed at first as if, in spite of its numerous enemies, the

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government which Cromwell had established had become permanent. His son Richard was accepted as quietly as if he had been the hereditary heir of a long line of kings. But this tranquillity was of very short duration. The character of the new Protector was, as has been remarked, such as fitted him well to play the part of a constitutional monarch. Gentle, conciliatory, of no marked ability, had a longer life allowed his father to complete his constitutional arrangements, Richard might well have gathered round him all parties; but even to the very end of his reign the great Protector had had to rely upon the army for his support, and had found favour chiefly among those who regarded religion as superior in importance to civil government. He had never been able to leave that exceptional position, which he himself described as that of "Chief Constable." Now Richard unfortunately could not rely upon the support of either of those two sections of the people. Idle, careless, and unversed in public affairs, he had never joined the army, but had lived the life of an ordinary country gentleman. Though a man of respectable morality, he was yet by no means addicted either to the fanatical views or Scripture phraseology of the party which claimed the title of the "godly party." He was thus far more inclined to seek strength among the civilians than among the military; while ill-suppressed dislike to the outward shows of religion excited the disapprobation of the religionists. "A certain inferior officer," writes Ludlow, "publicly murmured at the advancement of some that had been Cavaliers to command in the army. He was carried to Whitehall to answer for the same. Mr. Richard Cromwell, besides other reproachful language, asked him in a deriding manner whether he would have him prefer none but those who were godly. 'Here,' continued he, 'is Dick Ingoldsby, who can neither pray nor preach, but I would trust him before you all.' Those imprudent as well as irreligious words, so clearly discovering the frame and temper of his mind, were soon published in the army and in the City of London, to his great prejudice; and from this time all men among them who made the least pretence to religion thought themselves unsafe while he governed." A large body of moderates in the nation, however, were willing to support him, and he ventured to call a Parliament, which the state of the finances rendered almost necessary. In order still further to secure the predominance of the middle party, writs were issued, in accordance with old customs of the country, and not in accordance with the far better system which Oliver had instituted. The thirty members for Ireland, and the same number for

Quiet accession of Richard Cromwell. His character.

He offends the godly party.

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Scotland, were, however, elected as in Oliver's time, and proved true to his son's interest. In the new Parliament, the Government had a considerable majority, but there was a strong opposition, consisting of concealed Royalists and of Republicans, headed by Haselrig and Scot. No sooner had Parliament met than disputes arose about the Constitution; but Richard's party had sufficient influence to carry a Bill recognizing his rights as Protector, though clogged with the clause that his power should be further limited. When this first point was settled, the position of the Other House was called in question, and although again Richard's party succeeded in obtaining the consent of the Commons to do business with it, the Republicans, who much disliked it, were powerful enough to pass several disrespectful clauses, as for instance that the Commons' House should be called upon to show no more respect for the Other House than the Other House showed for it, and that no messages should be received unless brought by members of the House in person.

He calls a Parliament, Jan. 27,

in which the Republicans predominate.

But while these disputes were going on, the more important business of payment of the troops was neglected; and the army about London, which had no love for Richard, formed a general council of officers, with the view to separate the civil from the military command, to place the latter entirely in the hands of Fleetwood. In April, their discontent could no longer be suppressed. They then presented a humble representation and petition from the general council of officers to Richard, who in turn laid it before the Lower House. This brought the quarrel to a head. The Parliament, anxious to uphold the civil in opposition to the military power, passed a vote, that during the sitting of Parliament there should be no general council of officers, without the leave and authority of the Lord Protector and both Houses of Parliament; and further, that no person should have command who should refuse to subscribe a declaration "that he would not disturb the meetings of Parliament or the freedom of the debates and councils." Indignant at these votes, the officers betook themselves to Richard; and Desborough, a man of stronger character than Fleetwood, their nominal head, told the Protector, even with threats, that he must choose between them and the Parliament. Richard found himself, in fact, no longer a free agent. Whatever his real wishes may have been, he was unable any longer to support the civil authority against the military, and yielding

No business is done.

Displeasure of the army.

Parliament dissolved. April 22.

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to the pressure of the army, dissolved Parliament. Power was again entirely in the hands of the army.

While pursuing its own objects, the army had sought support in Parliament by allying itself with that Republican party which saw with displeasure the existing half-monarchical organization of the country. On the triumph of the military, the Republicans received their reward. All Cromwell's arrangements were swept away: the old Republican remnant of the Long Parliament, the Rump, was recalled and reinstated as the legal Parliament. Forty-two of the old members, with Lenthall, their old Speaker, at their head, returned to the House in triumph, passing, as if to show the source of their authority, between two lines of officers. The first steps of the restored Rump were the re-establishment of the old machinery of Government, the Committee of Safety and the Council of State. But with its success its old impracticable pride returned. It forgot that it was but a creature of the army. It had at first been well received. Monk in Scotland, Henry Cromwell in Ireland, Lockart in Flanders, Montague with the fleet, acknowledged its authority. But the strong Republican feeling of the Rump would not allow it to grant what was the real wish of the army, and it soon fell into its old quarrel with the military power. The army demanded that Fleetwood should be Commander-in-Chief of the land forces in England, in fact, an irresponsible military chief, side by side with the civil power. Not only was this demand rejected, but the Rump proceeded itself to reorganize the army, entirely abolishing the office of Lord-General, and restricting Fleetwood's command as Lieutenant-General to a short period. It even insisted that all commissions should be derived from the Speaker, a proceeding which was ridiculed by the army, who spoke of the old lawyer as their new Lord-General.

The army replaces the Rump. May 9.

The Rump tries to rule the army.

The army and Rump between them had thus assumed all power. There was no place left for the Protector; Richard therefore quietly subsided into private life. Although the army had given a sullen consent to the late votes, it had been much against its will, and before long an opportunity occurred of making its power felt. The rapid change of the Government, and the threatened danger of a renewal of the oligarchy of the Long Parliament, or, should the army prove victorious, of a mere unstable military rule, had formed a close union between the Royalists and the great body of the Presbyterians of England, who had all along been willing

Richard retires.

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to accept royalty if properly limited. An insurrection broke out in Cheshire. The employment of the army became again necessary. Lambert hastened to suppress the outbreak. Victorious in the field, he returned in triumph to London, and found himself strong enough, in conjunction with the other officers, to demand that the late obnoxious votes should be rescinded. When the Rump, at the instigation of Haselrig, refused these demands, it was a second time ejected by the same power which had re-established it.

Quarrels of the army and the Rump.

This act, which seemed to promise nothing but mere anarchy supported by the army, still further strengthened the wish of the people to return to a settled government, even though it were royalty. The army, while united, was so strong that any attempts at insurrection appeared useless. But the army was no longer united. With no great head to keep them together, the individual generals formed ambitious plans of their own, and the different sections of the army became jealous of each other. Monk had for years commanded the army of Scotland. By careful selection of officers he had rendered it devoted to himself. It saw with jealousy the actions of the army of London, in which it had no share; and its leader, a cautious, reticent man, pledged to no party, and seeking solely his own advantage, seized the opportunity of raising himself to pre-eminence. For the present he declared himself the champion of the civil power, determining to watch the course of events. He refused to acknowledge the provisional Government which the London army had established, and at the head of 7000 men crossed the Tweed at Coldstream (Dec. 8). Lambert had hastened to Newcastle to oppose him, but his army gradually melted away from him, and he himself became a prisoner. Monk's appearance in England was followed by a universal cry for a free Parliament. Lawson, with the fleet, sailed up the river, and declared against the army. The apprentices in London rose. The soldiers themselves, mistrusting their leaders, made terms with Parliament, and on December 26th, the twice-expelled Rump was again enabled to reassemble, and awaited in hope the arrival of Monk, whom it still regarded as its friend.

On his march through England, however, he had full opportunity of seeing the real feelings of the nation, as petition after petition for a free Parliament was presented to him. And Monk, with whom principle was quite second to his own advancement, had already determined that his own interest lay in supporting the popular will. But it was still nominally as supporter of

Monk marches to London.

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the Rump that he reached London. He even, on February 9th, under its orders, destroyed the defences of the City of London, which had gradually been growing enthusiastic for a free Parliament. But he acted evidently under restraint, and the very next day, moved by a severe vote in the House against all who refused to abjure the pretensions of any single person, he returned with his army to the City, summoned the Common Council, and declared that he would make common cause with them in demanding a full and free Parliament.[1] The blow was thus struck; a burst of joy ran through the City. "At Strand-Bridge," writes Pepys, "I could at one time tell thirty-one bonfires; in King's Street seven or eight, and all along burning, and roasting, and drinking for rumps; there being rumps tied upon sticks, and carried up and down;" for such was the jesting manner in which the citizens showed their contempt for that body. Monk then demanded the restoration of all the Presbyterian members of the House who had been excluded, and finally insisted that all vacancies should be filled up and the Parliament dissolve itself. Thus at length terminated, constitutionally, the Long Parliament, after an existence of nearly twenty years.

and demands a free Parliament.

Writs were then issued for a new House of Commons, and, as was to be expected from the temper of the people, when it met on the 26th of April, it contained a vast number of members friendly to the royal family, though most of them Presbyterians. Monk at once, whatever may have been his previous views, accepted the necessity of the case, and entered into friendly intercourse with the exiled King. He wrote inviting him to return, but urging him, as he wished for success, to promise a general pardon, liberty of conscience, the confirmation of the confiscated estates, and the payment of the army arrears. The advice was wise. But Charles, led by his bigoted counsellors, Hyde, Nicholas, and Ormond, refused to adopt frankly the course proposed, and drew up a declaration at Breda, in which, while he seemed to give the promises required, he really rendered them valueless by adding that they should be limited by the subsequent advice of Parliament. One danger only lay in his way. This was the temper of the army, so long a predominant political power. It could ill bear the sudden destruction of all its work. The danger was so imminent, that Monk had to create an armed force to oppose it. For this purpose he called out and organized the militia, while he attempted by promises and rewards to soothe such regiments as were

It proves Royalist.

Monk invites Charles to return.

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within his reach. The danger passed off with only one slight outbreak. Lambert escaped from prison, and raised a small army in the middle of England. His attempt was easily suppressed, and he was again brought as a prisoner to London. The Parliament, or Convention as it was called, assumed the old form of English Parliaments: the House of Lords returned to their seats. The Declaration of Breda was presented to them, and answered by an address of invitation; and amidst the joy of all England, except of the army, which received him with gloomy looks as he passed the camp at Blackheath, Charles returned to his kingdom.

Charles received joyfully, except by the army.

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CHARLES II.

1660—1685.

Born 1630 = Catherine of Portugal.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

France.	*Austria.*	*Spain.*
Louis XIV., 1643.	Leopold I., 1658.	Philip IV., 1621. Charles II., 1665.

POPES.—Alexander VII., 1655. Clement IX., 1667. Clement X., 1670. Innocent XI., 1676.

Archbishops.	*Chancellors.*
William Juxon, 1660. Gilbert Sheldon, 1663. William Sancroft, 1678.	Lord Clarendon, 1660. Sir Orlando Bridgman, 1667. Lord Shaftesbury, 1672. Lord Nottingham, 1673. Lord Guildford, 1682.

THE Parliament which had re-established the monarchy had been summoned by writs not issued by the King. It was consequently irregular, and is known by the name of the Convention Parliament. Its duty was to settle, if possible, the great questions which must inevitably arise upon such a sudden change of government. It had exacted no pledges from Charles, but had trusted wholly to the vague promises of the declaration which he had issued from Breda. As, with careful ambiguity, all those promises were modified by reference to the future consent of Parliament, they were not of much legal value, but they had at least marked out the principles on which Charles was willing to treat with his subjects. The promises were four in number—an act of amnesty or oblivion extending to life, liberty and property for all but those excepted by Parliament; liberty of conscience, so that no man should be disquieted for differences of opinion which did not disturb the peace of the kingdom; the settlement in Parliament of all disputed claims on property which had lately changed hands; and the payment of arrears due to Monk's army. The amnesty, the settlement of claims of property (which included

The work of the Convention Parliament.

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the claims of the Church, the King, and the dispossessed Cavaliers), the settlement of the Church and of the King's revenue, became thus the main questions for the Convention Parliament to discuss.

The Amnesty.

Under the peculiar circumstances of the Restoration, the amnesty should have been as full as possible. Such had been Monk's advice, such the first feelings of the Parliament. The presence of the King, the known wishes of the Court, and the constantly-growing strength of the Cavalier party, increased the number of the exceptions, originally fixed at seven, till the Bill, as sent up to the Lords, excepted from the benefit of the Amnesty all such of the King's judges as had not surrendered themselves to justice in accordance with a proclamation which Charles had lately issued. That proclamation had fixed a period of fourteen days, within which the regicides must surrender themselves, on pain of being excepted from the indemnity. This obviously implied that such as acted in accordance with the proclamation should not be so excepted. Regardless of the King's faith thus pledged, the House of Lords excepted all the regicides promiscuously, together with five others, Hacker, Axtel, Vane, Lambert, and Haselrig, and added other clauses of great severity. But the Commons would not hear of this breach of faith, and after much discussion, a compromise was arrived at. Most of the King's judges were indeed excepted, but with a proviso that a special Act of Parliament was necessary for their execution, while a joint address of the two Houses desired the King to spare the lives of Lambert and Vane, even though found guilty. Ten persons were actually put to death immediately, three more were seized in Holland some time afterwards. Nineteen of the regicides who had surrendered under the proclamation were imprisoned for life; there were nineteen others still surviving who took refuge in foreign countries. The spirit of vengeance was further glutted by a mean revenge upon the dead bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, which were dragged from their tombs in Westminster Abbey and hanged at Tyburn. Admiral Blake's corpse, too, was removed from Westminster Abbey to St. Margaret's Church.

The settlement of property.

The settlement of the property which had changed hands during the Revolution was a more difficult, and, except to the persons immediately concerned, a more important question.[1] Of such property there were three great divisions—the Crown lands, the Church lands, and the lands of private individuals. The two first of these had been sold by the authority of the late Govern-

[1] For the settlement of Ireland, see pages 772 773.

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ment at full prices. Private individuals had suffered in several ways; in some instances their lands had been sold by the Government, in some they had sold their own lands to raise money or to avoid sequestration, in a far larger number of cases their estates had been sequestrated, and the management placed in the hands of their enemies. Many of the Convention Parliament had doubtless profited by these means. The purchases had frequently been made at prices which only a good title could secure. It seemed hard that such purchases should be invalidated. A Bill was early brought in to confirm such sales or give indemnity to the purchaser. As the influence of the Court increased, Crown lands were exempted from the action of this Bill, and the discussion on the other two sections was postponed till the dissolution of Parliament brought all such quarrels to be settled by the common law. By law the titles of the new purchasers were obviously defective, the old possessors, the Crown, the Church and Cavaliers, regained their property. The law, however, gave no relief when the sale had been made by the possessor himself, nor did it restore to the claimant any of the profits which had come from his property during the sequestration, or while he had been excluded from possession. The Act of Indemnity and Oblivion stopped all such claims. Clarendon's honest support of that measure drew on him much hatred from his party, who jeeringly called the statute an Act of Indemnity for the King's enemies, of Oblivion for the King's friends. The Church had thus entered into possession of its lost property.

Settlement of the Church.

The more important difficulty of the settlement of the form of Church worship and of the possession of Church livings was yet open, nor did the efforts of this Parliament succeed in closing it. It will be recollected that under Cromwell wide toleration had been granted, that the stipends of parochial clergy and the collection of tithes had proceeded as heretofore, that the right of presentation to livings had not been interfered with, that the only qualification necessary was the acceptance of the nominee by the Committee of Triers. The Presbyterian form of worship had been established only in very few counties, and on the whole the livings were in the hands of very competent men, but men of very various ways of thinking. The excellence and respectability of the clergy and their general acceptance by the people rendered any immediate measures of expulsion difficult. Though the restoration of the monarchy and the abrogation of the ordinances of the Long Parliament re-established the Episcopal Church as the legal Church of

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the nation, the strength of the Presbyterians in the Convention Parliament, and the great part they had played in his restoration, prevented Charles from openly offending them. At the same time Clarendon, his chief adviser, was a bigoted English Churchman, and would be satisfied with nothing but the restoration of his friends. Charles, for the present, held out hopes of a great measure of comprehension, intending undoubtedly that it should never be completed. It was found that there was no insuperable difficulty, as regarded the Presbyterians at least, in the establishment of what is known as Bishop Usher's Model, a compromise which, while re-establishing Bishops, greatly increased the number of suffragan Bishops, making them virtually standing presidents of councils of Presbyters, and thus establishing a form of Government neither wholly Republican nor wholly Episcopal. Charles even went so far as to issue in October a declaration in favour of this form of union, containing a promise that he would cause an assembly to be called, of equal numbers of Episcopalians and Nonconformists, to revise the Liturgy; but it became evident how little in earnest he was in this matter, when an attempt was made to change this Declaration into an Act, for then, no doubt under the influence of the Crown, the whole Court party strongly opposed the Bill, and it was rejected. The question was thus left unsettled when the Parliament was dissolved in December.

The revenue was more successfully handled. It was determined, at all events, to get rid of the vexatious duties of feudal tenure. A great quantity of the land of England was still held by knight service. And though the meaning of that tenure had disappeared in the course of time, the disagreeable incidents which belonged to it remained. Fines were still paid upon every alienation; reliefs upon the accession to his property of each new heir. Minors were still wards of the Crown, and still liable to the odious necessity of marrying at the will of their guardian, unless heavy fines were paid to avoid it. It was the hope of a good wardship or a rich marriage which still attracted needy adventurers to the Court. All these claims of the Crown, together with the old obnoxious privileges of purveyance and pre-emption, were now abolished. Their place was supplied, not as might naturally be supposed by a land-tax, but by an excise upon beer and other liquors, the landed interests thus finding means to shift the burden upon the shoulders of the whole nation. The sum at which the revenue was fixed was £1,200,000 a year, to complete which the subsidy of tonnage and poundage was granted to the King for life.

The Revenue.

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Thus the customs upon exports, tonnage and poundage upon imports, and the excise upon liquors, were all placed in the hands of the King, who ought to have found himself tolerably independent of Parliament. But obviously, in granting such a sum, Parliament did not contemplate a standing army. The great army of the Commonwealth was still paid by large monthly assessments. A grant was now given which enabled the King to pay off all arrears, and to disband that formidable body. Fifteen regiments of horse and twenty-two of foot were discharged, and, such were their habits of discipline, absorbed without disturbance into the body of the industrious classes of the country. Two regiments, Monks', called the Coldstream, and one other, brought from Dunkirk, were retained under the name of the Guards. In 1662 they amounted to about 5000 men.

Its work done, Charles dissolves it.

The King had thus gained all that was absolutely necessary for him from the Convention Parliament; well knowing that from the present temper of the people a new Parliament would be far more devoted to his interests, he dissolved it on the 29th of December. He had not miscalculated. In the Parliament of 1661 the Roundhead element was very small. The large majority of the members consisted of old Cavaliers or their sons, eager to restore England to what it had been before the Revolution, enthusiastic Royalists, still more enthusiastic supporters of the Episcopal English Church. So violent was their reactionary temper, that it required considerable exertion on the part of both the King and Clarendon to keep them within decent bounds. They were called upon, as the first legally formed Parliament of the reign, to confirm the Acts of the Convention. It was not without much difficulty and much loss of popularity, that Clarendon induced them to confirm the late Act of Indemnity. They proceeded to pass a series of very strong reactionary measures. The Covenant was ordered to be burnt by the common hangman; all the members had to receive the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. They declared that there was no legislative power in either or both of the Houses without the sanction of the King, that the sole command of the forces of the country was undoubtedly vested in the Crown, that neither House of Parliament could lawfully levy any war, offensive or defensive, against the King. They strengthened the law of high treason, forbad the presentation of petitions by more than ten persons, and aimed a destructive blow at the Presbyterian interest by the Cor-

New Parliament violently Royalist. 1661.

The Corporation Act. Dec. 20.

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poration Act, for it was in the town councils that the Presbyterians were most influential. This Act commanded all office-bearers in corporations to swear to their belief in the doctrine of passive obedience, to renounce the Covenant, and to receive the Sacrament in the English form, within one year before their election.

Trial of Lambert and Vane.

Although the Parliament had confirmed the Act of Indemnity, they could not refrain from attacking Lambert and Vane, for whose life a joint address from the Houses had been sent to the King. They were charged with acts of high treason against Charles II., in exercising their offices under the Commonwealth. Such a charge seemed a direct violation of the Statute of Henry VII., which declared that to serve the "de facto" King was not treasonable. But the Court lawyers of this time declared that Charles II. had not only been King "de jure," but "de facto," during the whole of his exile, kept out of the exercise of his authority by traitors and rebels. In spite of the absurdity of this assertion, Vane was found guilty. The King himself, enraged at the independence of his defence, urged on his condemnation. The cringing behaviour of Lambert secured his life, but could not save him from perpetual imprisonment. Vane was executed, a victim to the servility of the Bench and the calculating falseness of the King.

Execution of Vane. June 14, 1662.

The Act of Uniformity, passed on May 19, 1662, completed the work of the first year of Parliament. After the dissolution of the Convention, the King had continued to keep up the pretence of desiring some compromise with the Nonconformists, and so far fulfilled his promises, that a Conference was held at the Savoy Palace, between an equal number of Episcopalian and Presbyterian divines. The list of emendations to the Liturgy urged by the Presbyterians was a long one. They were discussed with great bitterness. As neither party would yield, the Conference broke up, and the emendation of the Liturgy fell into the hands of Convocation. A few alterations were made, but of a character rather to irritate than to please the Nonconformists. The Act of Uniformity was then brought to the Lords, rendering even more stringent the clauses of the old Act. It was now enacted that not only every clergyman, but every fellow of a college, or schoolmaster, should accept everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer. Every minister who, before the Feast of St. Bartholomew 1662, declined to do so, was *ipso facto* deprived of his benefice. No allowance of any sort was made for the deprived

The Act of Uniformity. May 19.

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ministers. When the fatal day arrived, upwards of 2000 ministers of good repute resigned their preferments.

Similar reaction in Scotland.

Events had been following the same course in Scotland. Since the battle of Dunbar, Scotland had been virtually dependent upon England. At first the Scotch received with great warmth the King, who relieved them from this position and restored them their nationality. It was not long before they learnt to regret the change. On reaching London, Charles found ambassadors from Scotland begging for the establishment of the Presbyterian form of worship. The chief of these was James Sharp. At the same time the Secretary of State for Scotland was Lauderdale, who had been deeply implicated in the movements of the Covenanters. Seeing the direction which affairs were taking in England, and feeling sure of the strength of the Royalist reaction, these two men thought it well entirely to betray their cause. Lauderdale henceforward gave all his ability to making good the most odious pretensions of the Crown, while Sharp, to whom the management of the Presbyterian negotiations had been absolutely intrusted, delivered those who had relied upon him bound into the hands of the reactionary party, and returned Archbishop of St. Andrews. The Presbyterians in Scotland had meantime been cajoled with the promise that the Establishment as settled by law should in no wise be altered. This promise was a piece of unexampled duplicity. Lauderdale remained in London to advise the Crown, the office of Royal Commissioner in Scotland being intrusted to John Middleton, a rough soldier of fortune, who had risen entirely from the ranks, and was now made an Earl. He was doubtless better fitted than the renegade Lauderdale for the immediate work in hand. He solved all difficulties by passing what was called an Act rescissory, by which all statutes passed in the Parliament of 1640 and subsequently were rescinded. This practically withdrew all legislation since the year 1633. The consequence of this was that the Proclamation brought down by Sharp, declaring that the established worship, discipline, and government of the Church should not be changed, found that established discipline Episcopalian. In the hands of Middleton and those who acted with him, who, Burnet tells us, were generally drunk, it was not likely that the change in civil affairs should be more gentle than that in the Church. It was determined at once to strike some of the more important men of the Covenanted party. At the head of these was Argyle. It is true that he had been mainly instrumental in the

Treacherous conduct of Lauderdale and Sharp.

Episcopalian Church established.

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restoration of Charles, that he trusted so implicitly to the pardon which had been given him in 1651 that he came in full confidence to meet the King in London, but neither services nor pardon weighed against the desire for vengeance, quickened by the knowledge of the almost royal power which he exercised in the Highlands. He was at once apprehended in London. There was no difficulty in finding charges that could be regarded as treason. He was executed on the 27th of May. The other two victims selected were Johnston of Warriston, one of the earliest suggesters of the New Covenant, and Guthrie, the most vehement and active of the extreme Covenanting clergy.

Execution of Argyle, Johnston and Guthrie.

The Declaration of Breda had secured some sort of indemnity for the English, for the Scotch it secured nothing. An Act of Indemnity was however completed in the autumn of 1662. Its main feature was the levy of large fines upon those who claimed its advantages. Between 700 or 800 were thus fined, and if the fines inflicted, which were very high, were not paid, the accused person still remained liable to the action of the laws of treason. But as the opposition of the Scotch to Charles had been principally on religious grounds, so now it was in the violence of the measures taken for the establishment of Episcopacy that the vengeance of the Court party was chiefly shown. The abjuration of the Covenant was ordered to be taken by all ministers of state, judges, and officials of all descriptions in the country. On the prorogation of the Parliament, its powers were continued in the Privy Council, and in that body was passed, on October 1, 1662, an Act insisting upon Episcopal ordination for all those who had livings. The Council in which this was passed is known as the Drunken Parliament. Every man of them, with one exception, is said to have been intoxicated at the time of passing it. Its effect was that 350 ministers were ejected from their livings. The apparatus of ecclesiastical tyranny was completed by a Mile Act, similar to the Five Mile Act of England,[1] forbidding any recusant minister to reside within twenty miles of his own parish, or within three miles of a royal borough; and by the establishment of a High Commission Court, with complete powers against all who acted against the discipline of the Church, or in general "all who expressed their dissatisfaction to his Majesty's authority by contravening Acts of Parliament or Council in relation to Church affairs." At the end of 1662 a rivalry arose between Middleton and Lauderdale, in which, after much intriguing, Lauder-

Episcopal Ordination Act.

The Scotch Mile Act.

[1] See page 732.

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dale was victorious. Middleton was removed from his commissionership, and the government in Scotland passed into the hands of Lauderdale or his creature Rothes, assisted in ecclesiastical matters by the renegade Archbishop Sharp.

Both kingdoms had thus been forced to accept, with circumstances of considerable cruelty, the Episcopal form of Church government. Ardent attachment to the English Church, and antagonism both to Papacy on the one side and to Nonconformity on the other, are the main characteristics of the earlier period of this Parliament—a period during which we may suppose it to have been under the management of Hyde, Earl of Clarendon. For a fervid admiration for the English Church was the chief characteristic of this statesman; a reformer in the earlier part of the Long Parliament, he had become, after the Great Remonstrance, the chief ostensible adviser of Charles I.; and although not answerable for all the actions of the King, who was constantly influenced by other and less constitutional friends, he had imbibed to the full the feeling of party spirit which the circumstances of a great revolution are certain to excite. He returned to England as the chief adviser of the young King, with his influence confirmed by the marriage of his daughter Anne with the Duke of York, the King's brother, heir-apparent to the throne, and bringing with him all the feelings and prejudices excited by an exile of many years passed in the constant service of a pretender. Ignoring his own earlier career, he took as his constitutional model the monarchy of Elizabeth. The growth of England in the last half century he wholly forgot. His desire was the establishment of a monarchy as strong as that of the Tudors, but kept as much as possible within the constitutional limits which had existed under those Princes, and of an orderly, established, Episcopal Church of the High Church model, but entirely dependent, as Elizabeth's Church had been, upon the King. In supporting these views, which he did consistently, and with a certain decorousness of life belonging to an older set of statesmen than those by whom he was surrounded, he frequently had to oppose the King's own wishes.

Character of Clarendon's government.

For the King himself belonged to a very different class of men. Selfish, sensual, and debauched, neither Church nor Constitution was to him of much importance as contrasted with the gratification of his personal wishes. He had learnt his views of monarchy abroad. His ideal of a king was Louis XIV. To win a similar position—at the price of honour, at the price of overriding the Constitution, no matter at what price—was the poli-

Charles's character.

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tical object of his life. In religion he was by profession a sceptic, as were nearly all the fine gentlemen of the day; but such religious feelings as he had led him to believe that if any Church was better than another it was the Church of Rome. Moreover, during his exile, such assistance as he had received had been from Catholic monarchs, and he had promised more than once to do what he could to relieve the Catholics of England, who had also been staunch supporters of his father, from the heavy penal laws which oppressed them. He did not declare his Catholic tendencies till the close of his reign, yet it was impossible that they should be quite hidden. Courtiers who were opposed to the High Church Protestantism of Clarendon, such as Bristol, early adopted the Roman Catholic faith; the King's mistress, Lady Castlemaine, followed the same course, as did his brother the Duke of York; it is very improbable that they would thus have acted had they not known the tendency of his mind. He felt, however, that it was impossible as long as Clarendon was his minister that any general Act of toleration to the Catholics should be procured. His original plan would seem to have been, as indeed he asserted in his Declaration from Breda, to grant liberty of conscience. He was even intending to suspend the action of the Act of Uniformity for three months at the desire of the Presbyterians. Finding this impossible, he adopted a different course. He threw his influence on the side of those who wished to establish the strictest laws against Nonconformity, hoping that, when he had thus shown the Nonconformists how completely they were in his power, they would receive with gratitude any efforts he might make to secure them toleration, even though toleration of Papists was included in the effort. It was thus that shortly after the Act of Uniformity he published a declaration, declaring that he would use his influence in procuring some arrangement from Parliament which would enable him to make use of the power he claimed of dispensing with the statutes in favour of those who, while they did not agree with the Church, were yet harmless to the State.

His Catholic tendencies.

He speedily found that he had miscalculated his influence. In 1663 the Commons presented him an address, in which they denied that he was in any way bound by the promises of the Breda Declaration, and gave him to understand that he did not possess that dispensing power which he claimed. This was followed by the introduction of stronger laws against Popery, and was the work doubtless of Clarendon's friends, who were now at open war with the party of Bristol, who had ventured even to impeach

Checked by the Commons.

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the Chancellor. It is to the same party and to their leaders, Clarendon and Archbishop Sheldon, that we must trace the rest of the cruel ecclesiastical legislation which disgraced Clarendon's tenure of office. A slight rising in Yorkshire was the excuse for the introduction of an Act against what its movers were pleased to call seditious conventicles. By this, any meeting for religious purposes, except in accordance with the practice of the Church of England, attended by more than five people beyond the family, was regarded as a conventicle; and a third offence was punished with transportation, after conviction before a single justice of the peace. A more nefarious law could scarcely be invented; it practically prevented even family worship, it offered the fullest opportunities to spies and informers, and deprived men of the common right of trial by jury. The gaols, we are told, were filled with Nonconformists.

Conventicle Act. May 17, 1664.

Conduct of the Nonconformists during the plague.

The following year (1665) a still worse measure was passed, under circumstances of peculiar cruelty. The plague, which had long been approaching through Europe, made its appearance in the crowded streets of London. Its progress was rapid and fearful. House after house was marked with the fatal red cross, the emblem of infection. The streets were deserted till grass grew in them, and scarce a sound was heard but the gloomy bell of the dead-cart as it carried the corpses, uncoffined and unshrouded, to some of the great common graves that had been dug. The panic was universal, and in some respects shameful. Especially it is fair to blame the doctors and surgeons, who were among the first to fly, and the established clergy, who deserted their churches. The Nonconformists, a far more earnest set of men, felt it a shame that the thousands still left in London should be deprived of all spiritual privileges; they undertook the duties of the vacant parishes, visiting the sick and preaching in the empty pulpits. But this noble conduct only excited the anger of the jealous Episcopalians, and in the Parliament, which, on account of the plague, was held at Oxford, an Act known as the Five Mile Act was passed, which forbad any clergyman to teach in schools, or to come within five miles of any corporate town or Parliament borough, who had not subscribed the Act of Uniformity, or who would not swear to the doctrine of passive obedience, and pledge himself that he would not at any time endeavour any alteration in the government of Church or State. Such clergy were, in fact, excluded from all their ordinary means of livelihood.

rewarded by the Five Mile Act. Oct. 30, 1665.

This was the last of Clarendon's triumphs. Already the Parlia-

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ment, which had met with such enthusiastic feelings of loyalty, was beginning to show signs of a change. Already that great opposition, which subsequently ripened into the Country party, was beginning to form. Charles II. was to experience the truth of his father's saying, that "Parliaments, like cats, grow cursed with age." Clarendon's own efforts to raise the prerogative had only tended to increase this danger. In the preceding year he had succeeded in obtaining a repeal of some part of the Act for triennial Parliaments, which was one of the chief achievements of the Long Parliament. It was generally believed that that Act not only required that Parliament should be held every three years, but that its duration should be but three years. This view Charles absolutely denied, thinking that he should never secure a more loyal Parliament; he moreover succeeded in obtaining the repeal of those stringent clauses which ordered the great administrative officers to summon a Parliament on their own authority should the King fail to do so. Before the close of the reign, Parliament had reason to regret the loss of these provisions. The lengthened existence then of this Parliament had begun to give rise, as usual, to opposition, at present directed against the minister. There was no difficulty in finding causes of discontent. The late legislation explains any hostility on the part of the Nonconformists. One party at Court, who felt injured by the superior decency of the minister's life, and desired greater toleration for the Catholics, was ready to join the opposition. The old Cavaliers were offended by the best act of his life, his honest adherence to the Indemnity. The whole nation was sore at the disgraceful sale of Dunkirk to the French, which had been completed in 1662, it was believed chiefly at the instigation of Clarendon, whose friendship for the French was not unpaid for. Events now occurred in rapid succession which rendered this general dislike to the Chancellor too strong to be withstood, and caused his fall.

Opposition to Clarendon.

Causes of discontent.

It is plain that such reasons for opposition as have been given could not be openly put forward. His enemies still required some more plausible pretext for his attack. It was supplied by his foreign policy. Hostility to Spain and friendship with France had for long been the traditional policy of the best English statesmen. Dread of the overwhelming power of Charles V., of the vast monarchy and Catholic tendencies of Philip II., and the threatening and reactionary policy of Austria, had forced England to side with the Protestant powers of the North;

His foreign policy the pretext for attack.

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a similar dread of the predominance of the Austrian house in Europe had driven France, for political reasons, to adopt the same course. But the rapid decay of Spain, the security of the German Princes won at the Peace of Westphalia, the increased power and influence of France, had entirely changed the circumstances of Europe. France especially, in the hands of a young and ambitious King, who had in 1661 declared his intention of ruling without the intervention of a prime minister, had become already the most powerful and dangerous country in Europe. This change Clarendon, with his usual inclination towards traditional views, had been unable to appreciate. He had throughout shown an inclination to join the French interests. He had thus been mainly instrumental in the sale of Dunkirk, a place dear to the English as their only continental acquisition, however little its real value may have been; and thus he had brought about the King's marriage with Catherine of Braganza, a Princess of Portugal, a country which had lately thrown off the yoke of Spain chiefly by means of French assistance.

Louis' ambitious views

But in fact the ambitious views of Louis had already begun to show themselves. His marriage with Maria Theresa, the Spanish Infanta (June 1660), although attended by renunciations which he fully intended to disregard, had given him hopes of securing part at least of the Spanish dominions, and he had already determined upon that course of aggression upon Spain which subsequently produced the great war of succession. His immediate object was the appropriation of the Low Countries and Franche-Comté to complete his frontier towards the Rhine. For this purpose, on the death of the first wife of Philip IV., he laid claim to the Low Countries for his own wife, urging a curious local custom which he had discovered, called the Law of Devolution, by which, in some of the fiefs of Brabant, upon the death of a parent, the whole fief became the property of their children, the surviving father or mother having only a life interest in it. It is needless to say that this local custom was entirely contrary to the law which governed the succession to the Crown. This claim had thoroughly frightened Holland, for that country was conscious that its alliance was no longer necessary to France, and that the close vicinity of so powerful a neighbour was not desirable. Holland was now in the hands of the oligarchic and republican party, at the head of which was De Witt; for the youth of the Prince of Orange disabled him from occupying the position of Stadtholder, which had become hereditary in his family. The republican party was constantly favourable to

frighten the Dutch into negotiations.

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France. De Witt, moreover, both despised and hated the Spaniards, and was afraid of the English, whose interest was certain to be given to the young Prince of Orange, who was the nephew of their King, and as hereditary Stadtholder, the natural leader of the anti-republican party. To obtain his object Louis entered into negotiations with De Witt; and these negotiations were still pending when suddenly the Dutch found themselves involved in a war with England.

War between England and Holland.

The war arose from very trifling circumstances. A dispute had arisen between the African colonies of England and Holland. The English, without declaration of war, had expelled the Dutch from their settlements on the African coasts. Reprisals had followed, still without declaration of war; Charles caused all Dutch merchant vessels with which his cruisers fell in to be captured, as well as those within the English ports. On the 14th of March 1665, the formal declaration of war was made. The efforts on both sides were very great; the fleets first met off Lowestoft. The old jealousy of Holland rendered the war at the time popular, while both the King and his brother were eager for it, the one from a desire to show his skill as Lord High Admiral, the other because he was pleased at the large grants offered him, some of which at least he hoped to appropriate. The Duke of York commanded in person against Admiral Opdam. He won a great victory, but by some mistake or confusion about orders the pursuit was checked and the victory rendered fruitless. It was thought desirable after this that the Duke should not command in person. Monk, now Duke of Albemarle, and Prince Rupert assumed the command. The following year a still more terrible fight took place in the Downs. The two English commanders, who were in fact generals and not sailors, ignorant of the movements of the Dutch, had separated, and on the 1st of June, Monk found himself unexpectedly in the Downs with 54 ships in presence of 80 Dutch men-of-war, commanded by De Witt and De Ruyter. Ignorant of naval tactics, he dashed at his opponents. For two whole days the terrible fight continued, constantly to the disadvantage of the English. On the 3rd of June, burning his disabled ships, Monk retired, nor was it till late in the evening of that day that Rupert's fleet, which should have returned much earlier, joined him. It was the common opinion that the mismanagement of the Government was the cause of the disaster. Though the Court for the time pretended they had won a victory, it soon oozed out that they had suffered a complete defeat, a defeat from which however they partially recovered in the course of the

Dutch victory in the Downs. June 3, 1666.

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year, driving the Dutch back into their ports, and with wanton cruelty burning the unfortified town of Brandaris on the Texel. De Witt, who saw this disgraceful act, is said to have sworn that he would not sheath his sword till he had had revenge. That revenge he obtained to the full in the following year.

Meanwhile the Dutch had been calling loudly on the French to fulfil the conditions of the alliance subsisting between them, and to send ships to their assistance. But the friendship of the Dutch was no longer an object to Louis. His chief desire was to see his two maritime neighbours destroy each other, and leave him at liberty to pursue his own course of aggression. Moreover, with his usual faithlessness, he was already preparing to desert the Dutch entirely. In May 1667, he had induced Charles to enter into that shameful traffic which rendered England during this reign a dependency of France. He had already secretly promised him considerable sums of money to enable him to establish his own power at home if he would leave him unmolested in his plans of conquest. Although thus deserted by their French allies, on whom they thought they had a right to rely, the Dutch had fully vindicated their honour. In the coming year the misgovernment of the English Court gave them a complete success. Grants, unusually liberal, had been made to Charles. Before the beginning of the war no less than £2,500,000 had been given him, and in 1665 and in 1666, sums on the same liberal scale. But the selfish and profligate King, instead of employing these moneys as designed, for the prosecution of the war, had taken much of them to lavish on his favourites and mistresses; and so complete was the maladministration reigning in the public offices that it was impossible to equip a respectable fleet in the year 1667. The coast of England lay unprotected, and the Dutch fleet sailed triumphantly up the Thames, passed thence into the Medway, burnt the dockyard and all the shipping at Chatham, and held London in a state of blockade for some weeks. This disgraceful failure produced a peace, which was signed at Breda in July, between the three countries, Holland, France, and England.

Louis deserts the Dutch, and pensions Charles.

Dutch blockade London.

Peace. July 1667.

The disastrous mismanagement of this war supplied the numerous enemies of Clarendon with sufficient materials to secure his downfall. In fact, the discontent, both within and without the House, was becoming serious. The opposition was no longer aimed solely at Clarendon. It began to reach the King and the whole method of carrying on the Government.

Discontent:

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Repression in Scotland had produced insurrection. The oppression exercised by Sir John Turner in the Western Lowlands had excited the stern Covenanters of that district. They had risen in arms and advanced towards Edinburgh. They had been defeated on the Pentland Hills, and their defeat had brought on them fresh oppressions. But the fire of insurrection was kindled, not yet to be quenched.

In Scotland, against religious oppression;

In England all respectable men were filled with disgust and horror at the extreme depravity of the Court itself, and of the men who hung about it. The wickedness of the time is to us almost inconceivable. The grossest indelicacies were publicly practised. The stage, upon which women were now first introduced, was occupied by comedies of the most licentious description. In the Court itself the King was notoriously the slave of any woman that captivated his senses. The reigning favourite at present was Lady Castlemaine. To the disgust thus excited was added contempt for the miserable maladministration of all branches of the Government which was the inevitable consequence of such depravity. While the Dutch fleet was sailing up the Thames, English sailors were mutinying for pay in the City. While English ships could not be manned, English sailors who had taken service with the Dutch were calling to their fellows to join them in a service where at least they got money for their trouble. While the fate of England seemed to hang upon the efficiency of her fleet, young nobles who had scarcely seen the sea were put in command of her ships. In the midst too of all the luxury that surrounded the Court, it was known that all the underlings were half starving for want of pay. To some of the royal household arrears of five years were due. The King's harper actually died of want, and was buried by the parish.

In England, against the wickedness of the Court.

Maladministration of Government.

Yet all this while it was known certainly that the King and the King's officers were appropriating vast sums of public money. It was this knowledge which induced the House of Commons to establish two important principles with regard to taxation. In 1665, on granting £1,250,000 for the Dutch war, twice the amount having been granted the preceding year, they introduced and carried a proviso that the money thus given should be applied to the war only. From this time it was a recognized principle that supplies should be applied only to their specified objects. Almost as a natural consequence of this arrangement, and with the same knowledge of the misapplication of money which had caused it,

Misappropriation of public money.

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the Parliament in 1666 appointed a Committee to inspect accounts, and on that Committee producing no great result, a Bill was sent up nominating Commissioners of accounts with still fuller powers. The desperate opposition both of the King and Clarendon delayed the Bill for a time, but upon the fall of that minister it was passed, and in 1669, on the report of the Commission, Sir George Carteret, Treasurer of the Navy, was expelled from the service. Both these actions of the Commons were strenuously opposed by Clarendon as encroachment on the royal prerogative. The opposition was the more ill judged, because the people felt it more than usually hard that just at that time the money raised by taxes should be diverted to the King's pleasures.

The miserable and disastrous Dutch war had come at a time when trade was depressed, when a sudden fall in the price of wheat had lowered rents almost a fourth, and when an unparalleled disaster had cost the people, it is believed, upwards of £7,000,000. On the 3rd of September 1666, a fearful fire had arisen, which laid waste the City of London from the Tower to the Temple, and inwards from the river from Spitalfields to Smithfield. Most of the public buildings, St. Paul's Cathedral, and eighty-nine churches, were consumed; and the flames were only suppressed by clearing gaps in the neighbouring streets by means of gunpowder. This vigorous remedy was applied under the eyes of the King, who exhibited on this occasion much activity and presence of mind. But even this good conduct on his part produced but little effect, when compared with the hasty language of the courtiers, who seemed to gloat over the fall of the rebellious City, and said openly that the City being now destroyed, and the King in possession of an army, there was no longer any obstacle to the establishment of absolute power.

Conduct of the courtiers at the Fire of London.

Thus both the minister and the Court were involved in the general and growing discontent, which now found a spokesman in the Duke of Buckingham. This versatile and unprincipled man, from mere carelessness in religion, was ready to adopt the cause of the Nonconformists. A quarrel with Lady Castlemaine threw him completely on the side of the Opposition. His enmity was specially directed against the Chancellor. He sought and obtained a reconciliation with the King's mistress, and their united efforts speedily induced the King to attempt to regain some popularity by deserting his old friend. In fact he had long been displeased with the Chancellor's conduct, which, as has

Duke of Buckingham persuades Charles to dismiss Clarendon.

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been said, in many points disagreed with his own views. Clarendon's love for what he considered the Constitution had induced him to limit the grants of Parliament, to object to the establishment of a standing army, and to desire the retention of some restraints upon the royal power. He had also constantly opposed the influence of the Roman Catholic party. Yet, with all this, Parliament was refractory, and was at the very moment demanding examination of the King's expenses, the step of all others the most objectionable to him. In August, a final interview between the King and his minister took place, and the King demanded the Seals.

On the 15th of October the Parliament voted an address of thanks for the Chancellor's removal, and in November he was impeached of high treason at the bar of the House of Lords. His friends in that House showed so much opposition to the impeachment that a serious quarrel arose between the Houses, and yielding to the false advice of the King, he fled from the kingdom, refusing to stand his trial, and in December was banished for life unless he should return before the following February. He withdrew to Montpellier, and spent the rest of his life in literary employments. Though the charges of the impeachment fell short of high treason, and were besides grossly exaggerated, he had certainly been guilty of imprisoning subjects illegally, of being the first to urge Charles to receive money from France, of having persuaded the King, during the summer of 1667, to maintain his troops at free quarters, and of having been mainly instrumental in the sale of Dunkirk, perhaps himself receiving some share of the spoils.

Clarendon is impeached and banished.

But if there had been faults in Clarendon's administration, it was spotless compared with that of his successors. The ministers who succeeded him are known by the name of the Cabal, a name ever after of odious signification. At this time, however, its real meaning was much the same as that of Cabinet at present, that is, a more trusted section of the Privy Council. It was the accidental fact that the names of the hated ministers who formed that Cabinet spelt the word Cabal which gave it its subsequent evil meaning. These ministers were Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley (subsequently Lord Shaftesbury), and Lauderdale.

The Cabal ministry.

Charles had been principally induced to change his minister by the promises held out by Buckingham and Shaftesbury of what the Commons would do for him if he surrendered Clarendon to them. He had in fact for the moment sided with the Commons, allowing them to re-establish for ever their right of impeachment

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and the responsibility of ministers. As a consequence of this line of conduct, a temporary change of policy was necessary. The change was attempted both in domestic matters, in which Clarendon's Church policy had hitherto been prominent, and in foreign politics. Sir Orlando Bridgman, who had become Lord Keeper in the place of Clarendon, attempted, in co-operation with Buckingham and Bishop Wilkins, a fresh measure of comprehension and toleration. But the friends of Clarendon's views with regard to the Church were still too strong to allow of such a measure, and a motion, tending to clear the way for the new scheme, was defeated by a large majority, at the same time that the Conventicle Act was renewed and rendered more stringent.

Temporary change of policy.

Abroad the change of policy was more obvious. The greater part of England had begun to perceive, what Clarendon had never seen, that the real enemy to the peace of Europe was Louis, and was eager to check his triumphant career. Since the Peace of Breda, he had pursued his designs against the Spanish Netherlands, and had marched triumphantly into the country, taking city after city. De Witt, whose eyes had at length been opened, though he had long clung to the French alliance, tried in vain to act as mediator. It was plain that nothing could prevent the conquest of the Low Countries but a close alliance between England and Holland. Such an alliance, which was indeed the true policy of the country, the people of England were most desirous to arrange. The English ambassador at the Hague, Sir William Temple, a man both of high character and great diplomatic skill, shared fully in this view. With an openness unusual among diplomatists, Temple and De Witt explained to one another their objects and wishes. A few days of such diplomacy was found sufficient. On the 23rd of January the two great ministers concluded the famous Triple Alliance between Holland, Sweden, and England, by which those countries bound themselves to check the advance of France. Louis at the moment of success found his conquests torn from him. He could not yet venture to face such a coalition. He stayed his advance in the Low Countries, but, in spite of the severity of the winter, poured his forces under Condé into Franche-Comté, and subdued that province in a fortnight. He then consented to treat, and on the 2nd of May the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed, by which Spain, for the sake of saving Franche-Comté, surrendered many important frontier towns, including Lille, Tournay, and Courtray. But though he thus retired with considerable advantage, Louis felt himself foiled, and never forgave

The Triple Alliance.

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the Dutch for their interference. By this treaty England assumed for a moment its right position in Europe, and entered upon the policy which the situation of affairs on the Continent rendered necessary for the next hundred years. So popular was it, that some even at the time considered it the only good thing that had been done since the King came to England; and, as Burnet says, it disposed the people to forgive him all that was past, and to renew their confidence in him which was shaken by the conduct of the Dutch war.

But this sudden assumption of a great national policy was merely a concession to popular feeling. It was in fact so hollow that, even while his ministers were treating with Holland, Charles was himself engaged in an underhand treaty with Louis. **Charles's real designs.** A certain change had come over his feelings, and he was now beginning to set on foot that plot the completion of which was the fixed policy of himself and his brother during their reigns. At the beginning of his reign he probably did not care much to be absolute. To a man of his sensual and good-natured character the trouble and occasional severity which are required from a despot were repugnant. The exertion of authority accompanied by such drawbacks offered no charm. His idea of despotism did not go much beyond freedom from all restraint and liberty to do as he liked. **Absolutism.** But before long he found that such liberty was not to be allowed him. The increasing interference of the Commons in his expenditure, the impertinence, as he considered it, of their inquiries into the use of the money granted to him, and the bitter comments which were in all men's lips with regard to his debauched life, roused his anger. He could not bear, he said, that a set of fellows should look into his expenditure. Hints were heard of a much more fully formed wish than he had hitherto had to establish an absolute power. The retention of a standing army moreover, small as it was, had excited much discontent. Yet it seemed necessary **A standing army.** for his plans that he should have such an army; and, certain that he should meet opposition which he would be unable to overcome by constitutional means, he began to look about for assistance in the coming struggle. His second wish he felt it was equally impossible to gratify without external help. This was the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion. It is strange that a man of such real scepticism, and of such ill regulated life, should have cared much for the form of religion. He seems to have been really convinced that Roman Catholicism was the best form of Christianity, and was probably stirred to activity **Establishment of Roman Catholicism.**

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by the sterner, harder character of his brother the Duke of York. It was this wish for the restoration of Catholicism which chiefly attracted him to Clifford and Arlington, who were both inclined to Romanism; and with those two ministers, Lord Arundel and his brother James, in January 1669, he took counsel as to the best method of proceeding.

The ally to whom he could best trust for the completion of both his objects was Louis, who might probably be induced to support him both with men and money. From this time onwards secret negotiations were set on foot, and distinct arrangements made between the two Kings: for Louis also had two great objects in view for which he was willing to pay high. These were the destruction of Holland, where the Republican form of government was regarded as a standing insult to despotism, and the acquisition of some share, if not of the whole, of the Spanish dominions, which might at any moment be expected to be vacant by the death of the weakling Charles of Spain, and to which Louis, in spite of his wife's renunciations, fully intended to lay claim. Under these circumstances the terms of the treaty were not difficult to settle. Charles was to receive £200,000 a year, and 6000 French troops, to enable him to crush any opposition he might meet with in his plan. For this he was to re-establish Roman Catholicism and to assist Louis against Holland, for which assistance he was further to be rewarded by the gift of the province of Zeeland. He was also to assist Louis to make good his claim on the Spanish succession, and to receive as his reward Ostend and Minorca, together with any conquests he might make in South America. Such were the terms which, under the fostering care of the Duchess of Orleans, Charles's sister, who served as a go-between, ripened into the Treaty of Dover, signed by Clifford, Arlington, and Arundel, on the 20th of May 1670. No sooner was the treaty made than the trouble likely to be met with in carrying it out filled Charles with fear. So great did the danger appear that he was afraid to trust three even of his Cabal ministers, and the clause concerning the change of religion was omitted in a false treaty to which they were made privy. After he had succeeded in plunging the country into a war with Holland, and had thus gone so far with the treaty that money from France could not be refused him, he allowed the religious change to lie dormant till fear of death drove him to confess his real belief. He left the completion of his plan to his brother James, who, much more vigorous and much less wise, at once pro-

By the help of Louis.

Treaty with France.

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ceeded to carry it out, to his own ruin and the lasting advantage of England. It is by the light afforded us by our knowledge of this plot that we must interpret every act of the two last Stuarts.

Meanwhile, before so strange a change of policy as was implied in a war with Holland, so immediately after the Triple Alliance, could be made, it was necessary to get rid for a time of Parliament. For that body was beginning to grow suspicious; it was impossible to keep the King's designs absolutely secret; moreover, the lavish expenditure of the Court and the riotous living of the King continued, and there were no ostensible sources of revenue to support it. Parliament began even to grumble at the life the King led. It was proposed to lay a tax on all who visited play-houses. A jest which Sir John Coventry made on this matter was displeasing to the King. Not yet powerful enough to punish such language arbitrarily, he took the mean step of employing his son Monmouth to hire bravos, who attacked Sir John in the streets and slit his nose to the bone. The indignation of the House was great. A strong Bill was passed against the perpetrators of the outrage, and malicious maiming made henceforth a capital felony. To get rid for the time of this troublesome Parliament, it was prorogued on the 2nd of April 1671, confessedly for a year, in fact for twenty-one months.

Parliament obstructing the King's plans is prorogued.

The Government could now carry out its change of policy unhindered. But, first of all, sufficient money had to be procured. This was done by an act of singular bad faith; nothing short, in fact, of declaring a national bankruptcy. It had been the custom for bankers to advance money to the Exchequer upon the security of the revenue, which was to be set aside for the payment of both principal and interest. The Exchequer was at this moment under obligation to pay £1,300,000. The larger part of this had been advanced by bankers from funds intrusted to them by private individuals. A proclamation was suddenly issued that all payments from the exchequer should be suspended for one year, although interest was to continue, a promise which was not observed. The effect was a run upon the bankers and widespread distress.

Money obtained by a national bankruptcy.

This act of national robbery was followed by a piece of international dishonesty almost as bad. War had not yet been declared against Holland, and the Dutch Smyrna fleet was now on the way home. The English admirals were instructed to lay hands upon this valuable prize. The villany was

War declared against Holland. 1672.

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not even successful. The Dutch, though at peace, were not without suspicions; six men of war convoyed the fleet, the English were ignominiously beaten off. War was at length declared in March 1672. The French did not pretend an excuse, the English pretences were so trivial as to be almost worse than none. The declaration of war was speedily followed by a great naval battle. On the 28th of May, the Duke of York met De Ruyter in Southwold Bay, and a battle of that equal and obstinate kind which was habitual between the English and the Dutch was fought. Upon land the combatants were far less equally matched. The troops of Louis poured at once over Holland. The army almost reached Amsterdam. The populace, driven to frenzy by the sight, and always attached to the interests of the House of Orange, which were not at present in the ascendant, rose in fury against their Government. De Ruyter was insulted, De Witt torn to pieces by the mob, and the young Prince of Orange found the duty of saving the country thrust upon him. Both France and England offered him terms. He rejected both. He even suggested that, if the worst should arrive, the shipping in the harbours might yet carry a remnant of the Dutch to the East, and there establish a New Holland. The courage of the people was roused, the dykes were cut, and the country laid under water. Unable to find subsistence, the invading army was forced to retreat, and Holland was saved; for the Austrian house was now roused to come to its succour.

The Dutch victorious.

One part of the intended plan had thus failed, and the funds at the disposal of the English ministry having been uselessly exhausted, it became necessary to summon Parliament. It met, after its long prorogation, in February 1673. During that period the second part of the King's plan had been tried also. Just before war had been declared with Holland a declaration of indulgence had been issued to conciliate the Protestant Dissenters. The King declared that it was his will and pleasure, making use of his supreme power in ecclesiastical matters, that the execution of all penal laws in matters ecclesiastical should be immediately suspended. The King's right to dispense with statutes in individual cases was scarcely disputed. The power of pardon indeed in some degree implied it. But this was a very different thing from a wholesale suspension of a series of Acts of Parliament. So dangerous did this power appear, both as a step towards arbitrary power and as a means of frustrating the efforts of Parliament in the suppression of Papacy, that the very Dissenters, whom it was intended to please, and whom

Declaration of indulgence. 1673.

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it had in fact much relieved, opposed it, and on the meeting of Parliament an address was carried by a considerable majority begging the King to recall the declaration. Charles, though complaining bitterly of the opposition of the Commons, was afraid to contest the matter, and withdrew the declaration, a sign of weakness which induced Shaftesbury, a statesman who was always to be found on the stronger side, to pass over to the popular party.

Parliament compels Charles to withdraw it.

This triumph of the Opposition, or Country party, as they were now called, was immediately followed up. No doubt grave suspicions, even knowledge, though perhaps imperfect knowledge, of the stipulations of the Treaty of Dover excited them to active measures. They proceeded to bring in and pass the Test Act, which rendered it necessary that the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England should be received, and a statement made by all who held any temporal office that they rejected the doctrine of Transubstantiation. As this necessity was to extend from the lowest to the highest, it reached the Peers and other high officials, who were untouched by the oath required by the Act of Supremacy, and compelled the Lord Treasurer Clifford, with Arlington, to retire from office, and the Duke of York himself to resign his position of High Admiral.

Passes the Test Act,

The triumph of the Country party in passing this Bill was complete, and was followed by the resignation of all the Cabal ministers with the exception of Lauderdale. Clifford withdrew entirely from public life, Arlington took an employment in the royal household, Shaftesbury and Buckingham threw in their lot with the Opposition, and became its leaders. Lauderdale continued ruler in Scotland. After this triumph, the Opposition were content to leave unmentioned the closing of the Exchequer, and to vote a large supply, conscious that by refusing to acknowledge the dispensing power, and by carrying the Test Act, they had in fact thwarted both branches of the King's great scheme. The final overthrow of the policy of the Cabal was secured when the Commons compelled the King, by a threatened refusal of supplies, to conclude a separate peace with Holland, where Temple resumed his duties as ambassador.

causing the Cabal ministers to resign,

and makes peace with Holland. Feb. 9, 1674.

The Government fell into the hands of Sir Thomas Osborne, soon created Lord Danby, who became Lord Treasurer. His political views in some respects reproduced those of Clarendon. He wished to establish the monarchy in a

Apparent inconsistency of Danby's administration.

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strong position, with the help of all the conservative elements in the country, and to see the Church of England supported in all its influence against both the Church of Rome and the Nonconformists. His foreign policy was however different. His feeling was strongly national. He disliked before all things the idea of a French alliance, and wished to recur to the policy of the Triple Alliance. Except then in his wish to increase the power of the Crown, he differed in all respects from the King, his master; and this difference of opinion gives a strange appearance of vacillation to the conduct of the Government during his tenure of power.

Difficulties of the Opposition.

The same character of inconsistency is traceable in the conduct of the Opposition, for the execution of their foreign policy did not appear compatible with their security at home. They desired war with France, but war with France implied a considerable army; with their knowledge of Charles's objects, they could not bring themselves to trust him with the command of such an army. They thus, while demanding war, refused the only means of carrying it on. The apparent inconsistency of the politics of the time was still further increased by the actions of the French King. To him also Charles was an object of profound mistrust. He would have been glad enough to carry out that King's schemes by the intervention of his own power. He by no means wished Charles's absolute authority to be established without his assistance. He preferred to neutralize the political influence of England by keeping Parliament and King in a constant state of mutual mistrust. The otherwise confused action of Danby's ministry becomes clear if it be borne in mind that the minister was constantly urging war with France, while the King was all the time pensioner of that country; that the Commons, certain of the King's connection and of his real objects, though unable to prove them, were unwilling to trust him on any point, though as anxious as the Treasurer for a French war; and that Louis was unceasingly engaged in intriguing with both parties in order to keep England from interference abroad. Throughout these years the Opposition was led by Buckingham and Shaftesbury, and was of the most vigorous description. It was to the misfortune of the party that it was so led. Both those noblemen belonged to the class of ready and unprincipled statesmen which the rapid alternation of power during the last thirty years had produced, and they gave a character of unscrupulousness and faction to the Opposition which its really great objects did not render necessary.

Difficulties of Louis.

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Danby's views of domestic government are shown by the attempt, in 1675, to render an oath against resistance to the royal power in all cases, and against any attempt to change the government of Church or State, obligatory on all place-holders and all members of either House of Parliament. The Bill was carried in the Lords, but met with such violent opposition in the Lower House that it was ultimately dropped. At the end of the same year, to prevent the free and sometimes seditious language used in the coffee-houses, which were to Englishmen then much what clubs now are, all coffee-houses were suddenly shut up. This attempt to carry despotism into social life raised such a storm of wrath, that, after a short time and under some restrictions, the coffee-houses had to be reopened. Again, in the Parliament of 1677, Lords Shaftesbury, Salisbury, Wharton, and the Duke of Buckingham, maintaining that the late lengthened prorogation of Parliament was illegal, were all four imprisoned in the Tower, and remained there for more than a year.

Attempts at arbitrary rule. 1675.

In the face of vehement opposition, and in spite of the unpopularity of his views of government, the Treasurer succeeded by means of bribery in continuing in office. But it was in connection with the affairs of Europe that the mistrust of the Opposition and the meanness of the King were most clearly shown. The separate peace with Holland had been completed in February 1674; but though England had thus withdrawn from it, the war still continued on the largest scale on the Continent. Holland had indeed been saved by the firmness of the Prince of Orange. Austria and Spain had come to his assistance, and the war, turned aside from its original purpose, was now directed chiefly against these allies, of which Spain, as usual, was the greatest sufferer. Franche-Comté was again occupied; Alsace taken by Turenne, who passed the Rhine and laid waste the Palatinate; and after the death of that great general in 1675, the French still continued to make head against the European alliance along their whole frontier, although with less unvarying success. Supported by the well-known wishes of the Lord Treasurer, the Country party were not contented with the withdrawal of England from the French alliance. They eagerly desired that the nation should take its proper place as one of the chief members of the league against the French. It became necessary for the views of Louis that the constant declaration of this wish should be silenced. He therefore, at the price of 500,000 crowns, purchased from Charles a lengthened

Parliament wishes to check Louis.

Louis bribes Charles to prorogue it.

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prorogation from November 1675 to February 1677. In the interval the two Kings bound themselves by formal treaty, with the connivance of Danby and Lauderdale, not to enter into any treaty but by mutual consent, and Charles promised, in consideration of a pension, to prorogue or dissolve Parliament if they should attempt to force on such a treaty. It was upon the conclusion of this prorogation that, as has been mentioned, four Peers had been imprisoned.

Parliament reassembling, demands war with France. 1677.

The Commons, upon reassembling, were induced by bribery to make a considerable grant. But that grant was devoted chiefly to the navy, and paid not to Government but to their own receivers. They then passed an address requesting the King to save the Netherlands; but when Charles demanded money for the purpose it was refused. The army was indeed collected, between 20,000 and 30,000 men. The sight of such a force, and their well-founded dread of the objects of the Court, made the Parliament demand its dismissal. It indeed seems probable that both Charles and his brother fully intended to use it for their own purposes. Nor could the French King, in spite of his connection with Charles, feel the least certain that it would not after all be employed against him; he therefore used his influence to get the army disbanded. This brief session of Parliament had convinced Louis of the wisdom of securing lengthened prorogations. He therefore again bribed Charles with a subsidy of 2,000,000 livres to prorogue Parliament till April 1678.

Louis again secures a prorogation.

Mary marries the Prince of Orange. 1678.

But meanwhile, for a time, the influence of the Treasurer had got the upper hand; and not without great opposition from her father, Mary, the eldest daughter of the Duke of York and Anne Hyde, had been married to the Prince of Orange, the head of the Protestant interest in Europe, and the chief opponent to the growth of French influence. This was regarded as such an act of treachery by Louis that he cut off the subsidy he had just promised, and Parliament, already prorogued till April, was in revenge suddenly summoned in February. So complete was now Louis' mistrust of the miserable palterer upon the English throne, that he began a new line of policy. It seemed to him hopeless to rely in any way on Charles's word. The only course left for him was to deprive him of all power, either of helping him or hindering him, by keeping him constantly employed at home. He therefore entered into negotiations with the Country party. His ambassadors, Barillon and Ruvigny, were ordered constantly to foster the

Louis' anger. Charles summons the Parliament.

Louis intrigues with the Opposition.

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quarrels between the King and his people, and undoubtedly even the very best of the Country party, such as Lord Holles and Lord Russell, entered into communication with them. Neither of these leaders received anything from France. The same cannot be said of a considerable number of the other leaders of the party. At the same time, though the reception of money from a foreign Prince for the purpose of influencing domestic politics is repugnant to our present ideas of honour, it is scarcely fair to say that the leaders of the Opposition were bribed; in the first place, because the sums given (between £300 and £500) were too small to have had much influence upon men of property and position; and secondly, because no change of principle was required from the recipients. At the worst, they were only paid for following their own political objects more energetically. Under the influence of these intrigues, parties appeared for the moment to have exchanged positions. The King, angry at the stoppage of his subsidy, urged by the Treasurer, thinking perhaps to please his Parliament, and probably with an ulterior view of establishing his own power, again collected an army of some 20,000 men, nominally against France; and the Country party, which had hitherto urged him to adopt that course, at once demanded that it should be disbanded.

Again, disgusted at the ill success of his new policy, Charles recurred to Louis, and in May 1678 made a private treaty with him, signed by himself, but written by Danby, by which he promised, on receipt of 6,000,000 livres, to remain neutral if Holland refused to accept reasonable terms of peace; for the exhaustion of war was pressing upon France, and though victorious, Louis was anxious to treat. A congress for that purpose had been sitting at Nimeguen since the close of 1676. The effect of this neutrality was virtually to force Holland to treat, and in spite of the opposition of the Prince of Orange, who wished to continue that war, and who has been falsely charged with fighting the battle of St. Denis with the full knowledge of the treaty, in hopes of breaking it off, the Peace of Nimeguen was completed, the loss again falling almost wholly upon Spain.

Secret treaty with France. Peace of Nimeguen.

Louis no longer wanted the friendship of Charles, and determined to punish him for the marriage of his niece, and for his duplicity at the beginning of the year. He therefore refused his pension, declaring that it had not been earned, and at the same time wreaked his vengeance upon Danby, whom he knew to be his consistent enemy, by causing Montague, the English ambassador

Louis makes it known.

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in Paris, to make known the treaty by which the King was to have received 6,000,000 livres. As that treaty was dated only five days after a grant of money from the Parliament for carrying on the war against France, it excited the extremest wrath in England. As the King himself could not be touched, all this wrath was directed against the minister, and before the close of the session he was impeached. Danby pleaded the King's direct order and the King's pardon. On the Tory view of the position of ministers, his first plea was probably good. But the modern Whig theory was on this occasion established, that a minister is answerable for the character as well as the legality of the measures of which he makes himself the instrument. This was a great step in the change rapidly arriving in England, by which the executive was brought under the control of the Houses of Parliament. The question how far a pardon can be pleaded to stay an impeachment was by no means a clear one. It might well seem that a pardon before was very little different from a pardon after conviction. The matter was on this occasion left undetermined, as the impeachment was not completed. Subsequently, by the Act of Settlement, it was arranged that such a pardon could not be pleaded.

Consequent anger against Danby.

The impeachment of the minister would perhaps have been less vehement had it not been preceded by an extraordinary event which drove the nation to a state of madness. This was the discovery of a pretended Popish plot, including the death of the King and the establishment by violence of the Roman Catholic religion. It is possible that there was some germ of truth in the story. Several events connected with it—the contents of the letters of the Jesuit Coleman, which seemed to allude to some such plot, the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, the fact that some of the witnesses were undoubtedly tampered with by the Catholics—tend to rouse a suspicion that after all there was some truth in the plot. On the other hand, Coleman's words may have alluded to the general scheme of the King; the murder of Godfrey has never been brought home to the Catholics; in the excited temper of the people, and in the fear of being convicted, whether proved guilty or not, innocent people may have been willing to use any means to withdraw witnesses. Be that as it may, the stories told by Titus Oates and the other informers, who, jealous of his success, vied with him in their fabrications, were a tissue of absurdities. This man, a clergyman of the Church of England, who had been degraded for evil living, had afterwards become a Roman Catholic,

Country being excited by the Popish plot.

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and joined the Jesuits at St. Omer. It was the knowledge gained there, and afterwards in London, which supplied him with the material for the stories he subsequently retailed. Brought before the Council, he made a variety of extraordinary assertions. The Jesuits were to govern England, the King was to be killed, Romanists were already appointed to the chief places in the State, a French invasion was preparing, a general massacre of the Protestants might be expected. He went on to add minute particulars and to accuse many individuals. He was taken before Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, a Protestant magistrate, to swear to his narrative; and the credulity and horror of the people, already sufficiently excited by Oates's narrative, became a perfect panic when, some days after, Godfrey was found mysteriously murdered on Primrose Hill. No man felt his life safe unless armed. It became the custom to carry a little flail loaded with lead, called a Protestant flail. At Godfrey's funeral, at the sermon, "besides the preacher, two other thumping divines stood up in the pulpit" to guard him from being killed, and when Parliament met on the 21st of October, after hearing the letters of Coleman the Jesuit, secretary to the Duchess of York, whom Oates had charged, the Lower House came to a resolution, "That this House is of opinion that there hath been and still is a damnable and hellish plot, carried on by Papist recusants, for assassinating and murdering the King, for subverting the Government, and rooting out the Protestant religion." It has been thought that Danby may have hoped to excite the Commons to some loyalty by the threatened assault on the King, and may therefore at first have given his countenance to the stories of the plot; it is more certain that Shaftesbury at once saw the opportunity offered him of lashing the Protestant temper of the people to fury, and directing it against the Duke of York. This political side of the plot, coupled with the fixed idea which constant repetition had excited in the minds of Protestants that Catholics were capable of any enormity, explains the extraordinary lengths to which the informers were allowed to go. Oates, followed by a man of the name of Bedloe, and subsequently by Dangerfield, Carstairs and others, named five Peers as privy to this plot, who were therefore imprisoned in the Tower, and secured the conviction and execution of a considerable number of Jesuits and Catholics. In fact, for some time, it was useless for the accused to hope for justice; Chief-Justice Scroggs lent himself shamelessly to uphold the false stories of the informers. At length Oates ventured even to assert that, standing behind a door in Somerset House, he had heard the Queen give her consent to the

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death of the King. The informer himself was well paid for his task; guards were assigned him, lodgings in Whitehall, and £1200 a year. He dressed like a Bishop, and called himself the Saviour of the nation. Every one he pointed out was taken up,—"the very breath of him was pestilential." It was while the country was in the midst of this wild panic that the revelations of Montague were made against Danby. In December that minister was impeached; and, threatening though the state of England was, in the hope of saving him, Charles ventured upon dissolving his Parliament, which had now sat for eighteen years, and which during this time had changed from fervid loyalty to a state of the bitterest hostility to the Court and Crown. As was to be expected in the midst of the national ferment, the election was a scene of extreme excitement. Devices, hitherto unheard of, were employed to procure votes, seldom had so great a poll been seen; the triumph of the Country party was complete, almost everywhere the elections went against the Court. Members came up in a furious temper, burning with Protestant zeal, and full of anger against Danby. In spite of the dissolution, which had generally been held to put an end to an impeachment, proceedings against him were at once resumed. In vain he pleaded the pardon of the King under the Great Seal, it was decided that the Minister must be responsible for his actions; he was put into the Tower, and remained there till the prorogation. The Commons, headed by Shaftesbury, continued their violent course. To avoid the excitement which his presence caused, the King had induced the Duke of York to retire from England. The step was taken in vain. In the last Parliament, when a Bill had been passed which prevented Catholic Peers from sitting in the House, the Lords had succeeded in obtaining a proviso in favour of the Duke of York; no such lenity was now to be looked for. The Country party was convinced that the only way of securing the liberties of the country was to exclude James from the throne; a Bill for that purpose was introduced into the House.

Parliament dissolved to save Danby.

New Parliament, March 6, sentences Danby to the Tower.

Brings in the Exclusion Bill.

Meanwhile, in terror at the vehemence of his Parliament, Charles had had recourse to the most popular statesman of the time, Sir William Temple, author of the Triple Alliance. He formed a scheme which he hoped might oppose some barrier between the King and the rising excesses of the Commons. For this purpose he utilized the Privy Council. The Cabinet, even as it then existed, was but a Committee of that large and unwieldy body.

Temple's scheme of government.

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Temple designed to increase the Cabinet, and formed a Council of Thirty, among whom were many members of the Opposition, notably Russell and Essex, while Shaftesbury was not only admitted, but established as President. Without the advice of this Council, the King, it was understood, pledged himself not to act. For the moment the hopes of the Country party were raised. The plan however proved, as might have been expected, abortive. The number of thirty was much too large for rapid or secret action, and practically the real ministry came to consist of four only—Temple himself; the Earl of Sunderland, an able man of a mean spirit and unprincipled character, of whom it has been said that he was so intent on observing and courting particular persons, that he miscalculated grossly with respect to all the momentous events of his time; the Earl of Essex, an honest and sober member of the Country party; and Saville, Lord Halifax, a man of brilliant gifts, who had hitherto been also connected with that party, but the peculiarity of whose mind led him always to see the advantages of both sides of a question, and to incline towards that party which was for the moment weakest: he was proud of the name of Trimmer, given him in contempt by more onesided and practical politicians. The formation of this inner Cabinet was entirely contrary to Temple's principle; his scheme at once broke down. Russell would no longer be a member of a ministry in which he had no voice; Shaftesbury appeared again as a leader of the Opposition. Under his guidance the Exclusion Bill was being read a second time, when the King found it necessary, not only to prorogue, but to dissolve Parliament.

Fails in practice.

Parliament dissolved.

Although it had failed in completing the Exclusion Bill, this Parliament had carried the great Act of Habeas Corpus. It must be remembered that, from the earliest times, certainly from the Great Charter, every Englishman had a right to trial. No freeman could be detained in prison except on a criminal charge, or after conviction, or for debt, and always had it in his power to obtain a writ of Habeas Corpus, that the Courts of law might judge of the sufficiency of the charge. But all sorts of obstacles had been put in the way of obtaining this writ. The present statute enacted, that any judge, at any time, should be obliged to grant this writ when applied for, and fixed the penalties to which the gaoler would be liable for refusing to obey and the judge for refusing to issue the writ. It also forbade imprisonment out of England.

After carrying the Habeas Corpus Act.

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The only political effect of this short Parliament was to exasperate the animosity of parties. The trials for the Plot continued uninterrupted, the judgment-seat was still defiled by the wicked conduct of Scroggs, Knowles, and Jones, who constantly and openly took the part of the accusers. But at length these unjust judges seemed to have taken fright as the accusations approached the Crown; when the trial of Sir George Wakeman, the Queen's physician, came on in July, though the evidence was precisely of the same character as before, the witnesses suddenly found themselves disbelieved, and after a long trial, Wakeman, and others who had been indicted with him, were acquitted. Thus one of Shaftesbury's great weapons in his attack upon the Court was broken. Still, however, Lord Stafford, with four other Peers, awaited their trial by the House of Lords. But the spell was broken, and incredulity began to spread.

Popish Plot trials continue.

And now a new personage entered on the scene, whose appearance (though by the reaction it caused it ultimately proved a deathblow to Shaftesbury's policy) supplied him at the time with a fresh means for carrying on the assault. This was the Duke of Monmouth, the illegitimate son of Charles and Lucy Walters, who received from Charles an amount of care and love scarcely to be expected from such a man. He had been constantly present at Court, had been allowed in many points to assume the bearing of a Prince of the blood; and the Country party, regardless of his birth, began to look upon him as a rival to the Romanist Duke of York. So conscious was the Duke of York of this danger, that, when leaving England at the beginning of the last Parliament, he had exacted from the King, in the presence of his Council, a solemn declaration of Monmouth's illegitimacy. But in spite of this, the story which declared that the Duke was really the King's legitimate son held its ground. Highly popular in his manners, he had won the heart of the people, and had lately still further strengthened his position by the leniency with which he had concluded a religious war in Scotland, which contrasted favourably with the bigoted severity of the Duke of York.

Popularity of the Duke of Monmouth.

The measures which had been taken in that country to force Episcopacy on an unwilling people had driven them to insurrection. After the disgrace of Middleton, at first Rothes, and subsequently Lauderdale, with the assistance of Archbishop Sharp, had been the chief agents in the persecution. The Covenanted feeling had showed itself most strongly in the Western

Oppressions in Scotland.

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Lowlands. There many violent means had been tried to reduce the people to conformity; among others, the introduction of a number of Highlanders, known as the "Highland Host," who had been brought into the country and quartered on the inhabitants. So outrageous and unscrupulous had been their conduct, that, for the sake of the Loyalists, it had been found necessary to remove them. But against the Covenanters their excesses had proved as useless as the previous means of coercion. The Nonconformist feeling, however, was not confined to the West. In the county of Fife were found men of equally stern convictions, and there the standard of rebellion was raised. A certain official of the name of Carmichael had been using the laws against recusants for his own ends with unjustifiable severity, bringing charges against men he knew to be innocent, but whose consciences forbade them to support their innocence in courts whose competency they denied. Ten or twelve Covenanters of the more fanatic sort determined to punish him; the degree and character of that punishment they had not yet decided on. Under the leadership of a gentleman called Hackston of Rathillet, and of John Balfour, they lay waiting for their victim on Magus Heath, near Cupar. After the manner of their sect, they had begun their undertaking with deep prayer, and when Carmichael avoided them, they took it for a providential dealing that Archbishop Sharp came across them as it were in his place. They fell upon him as he was driving with his daughter in his coach, and barbarously murdered him. They then fled to the West, the real stronghold of the extreme Covenanters. There they at once met with sympathy, and after some open acts in contempt of ecclesiastical law, in company with some 600 more, held an open air conventicle at Lowdon Hill. John Graham of Claverhouse marched against them, and was defeated at the skirmish of Drumclog. He was unable even to hold Glasgow against them, and the outbreak threatened to grow into a formidable insurrection. It was thought necessary to send Monmouth to suppress it. On the 22nd of June, at Bothwell Bridge, on the Clyde, he came up with the insurgents. They sent a petition, begging that they might have the free exercise of their religion, and that their matters might be settled in Parliament. The Duke was himself inclined to gentle measures, and to afford them some relief; but his orders were positive, he was not allowed to treat. The consequence was the battle of Bothwell Bridge, in which the Covenanters were defeated with great

Murder of Archbishop Sharp.

Monmouth defeats them at Bothwell Bridge.

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slaughter. The illness of the King and Monmouth's leniency caused him to be recalled to England; his place was taken by the Duke of York, who set to work to break the spirit of the Covenanters with unsparing cruelty and an unscrupulous use of torture, which would alone have rendered his name odious. It was thus, with the favour his comely person and popular manners had already secured him, enhanced by a reputation for leniency and love of the Protestant religion, that Monmouth returned from a short absence on the Continent, whither he had betaken himself on leaving Scotland. He became at once the popular hero; his return was celebrated by the ringing of bells and all the other signs of enthusiastic admiration; while the story of his legitimacy was repeated with more and more of authority.

Duke of York subdues them by torture.

Enthusiasm for Monmouth.

He arrived at a critical moment. Shaftesbury had not been idle. A new Parliament had been summoned to meet in October; but, without proceeding to business, it was at once prorogued for a year. This interval was spent in exhibitions of national feeling organized by Shaftesbury. The anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's accession was celebrated with a great pageant, closing with the burning of the Pope in effigy. And now a new plan was devised for sustaining the national feeling. Petitions urging the King to assemble Parliament were prepared in all parts of the country. But signs were already visible that the reaction was coming. A proclamation was issued, which checked the petitions; and the violence of the Country party (now called Whigs, a name applied to the Western Covenanters of Scotland) began to rouse the loyalty which always exists among the English gentry. Counter addresses were forwarded to the Government, expressing their abhorrence of the petitions. The Loyalists were now called either Tories, a name taken from the wild Irish outlaws, or Abhorrers, from the word used in their addresses.

"Whigs" and "Tories."

In 1680 the crisis came. Alarmed at the popularity of Monmouth, the Duke of York returned from Scotland, and it at once became evident that his influence was paramount with the King. Shaftesbury, who shrunk from no extremity, and who seems to have been blind to the approaching reaction, appeared before the grand jury of Westminster, and presented the Duke as a Popish recusant. While Shaftesbury was engaged in conversation, the judges thwarted this clever move by discharging the jury; still it was plain that the Duke's presence in England was

Reaction in favour of the Duke of York.

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for the present impossible, and he again returned to Scotland. At length, in October, Parliament met. The Commons proceeded to all extremities. The Exclusion Bill was brought in and passed. The Commons would hear of no compromise, though the King offered anything short of exclusion. Sunderland and Godolphin entreated him to yield. Halifax, true to his policy of defending the weak, alone stood firm. His unrivalled eloquence was successful; the Bill was thrown out in the Lords. Filled with anger, the Commons passed a series of measures, each more violent than the last. They refused to pass any Money Bill till the Exclusion Bill was carried. They addressed the King to remove Halifax from his Council for ever. They resolved that no member of the House of Commons should accept any office from the Crown. They declared that the fire of London was due to the Papists, who designed thereby to introduce Papacy and arbitrary power. It was impossible for the King to remain quiet under such circumstances; he was compelled to dissolve Parliament on the 18th of January 1681. Meanwhile Monmouth had been making a sort of royal progress through England, escorted from house to house by a band of gentlemen. He had even ventured to drop the bar sinister from his arms, and to touch for the King's evil. It seemed as though even yet the Whigs would be triumphant; in spite of the acquittal of Wakeman, the prosecution of the Papist Lords was still continued, and the Whigs had sufficient influence to secure the unjust death of Lord Stafford. But the King and his advisers were conscious that the tide had already begun to turn; and, determined to allow his enemies to put themselves completely in the wrong, Charles decided on making one more attempt at Parliamentary government. In March 1681 a new Parliament was assembled; but, afraid of the vicinity of London, the King summoned it to meet him at Oxford. The Whig chiefs came, attended by troops of armed men, and the kingdom seemed upon the verge of civil war. Charles again offered a final alternative to the Exclusion Bill. He was willing, he said, that the Duke of York should be banished from the kingdom, that the Government should be carried on in his name by a regent, that that regent should be the Protestant Prince of Orange. The Commons would listen to no proposition short of the complete exclusion. But they had overshot their mark. Their extreme violence, dread of a civil war, the undue pressure which they seemed to be applying

Parliament meets. Commons pass the Exclusion Bill.

The Lords throw it out. Anger of the Commons.

Parliament dissolved.

New Parliament at Oxford, 1681.

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to the King (who after all was only upholding the natural rights of his own brother); before all, their attempt to meddle with the true succession to the Crown, which is so dear to the English mind, had produced a complete reaction; and when the King, after a few days, dissolved the tempestuous Parliament, he had virtually triumphed.

refuses any compromise. Is dissolved at once.

He could even think at once of vengeance. A carpenter of the name of College, known as the Protestant joiner, the inventor of the Protestant flail, was accused of a design upon the King. The false witnesses hitherto employed in the Popish Plot were willing enough to sell their perjuries to their former enemies. Acquitted in London, College was tried before a more Tory jury in Oxford, and found guilty amid the applause of the bystanders. The next blow was aimed against Shaftesbury himself. It was resolved to try him upon the charge of treason; but the London sheriffs were zealous Whigs, the jury was of the same way of thinking, and they ignored the indictment. It became obviously necessary, before severe measures could be thought of, to change the character of the corporations. A writ of Quo Warranto was issued, by which the City of London was accused of irregularities, and their charter was confiscated. Laws against Nonconformists were at the same time put rigorously into execution. The process which had answered so well in London was speedily applied to other corporations. There were few of these bodies who had not either wittingly or unwittingly been guilty of some breach of the law. One by one they were compelled to resign their charters, and to receive others granted wholly in a Tory spirit.

Charles's vengeance.

The reaction drove the Whig party to despair. Their excitement had been so strong, it was impossible for them to settle down, as wisdom dictated, to wait quietly till their turn should come again. They began to think of more violent means, and meetings were held in which there was some talk even of an insurrection. This was Shaftesbury's plan; but he was unsupported by the wiser members of his party, and found it necessary to withdraw in November to the Continent. There was indeed no proper ground for insurrection, for however tyrannous the conduct of the King might have been, he was careful to keep within the letter of the law. At the same time, communications were opened with the discontented Presbyterians of Scotland; and it is certain that the agitation for some violent means of opposing the Crown was widespread. Russell and Essex appear to have retired from the scheme; but some of the in-

Despair and fury of the Whigs.

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ferior and more violent members of the party went even further. They made a plan for murdering the King at a place called the Rye-House, which has given its name to the whole Whig conspiracy. The plot was revealed by one of its members. The Court found no difficulty in mixing the more general feeling of discontent with the assassination plot. Russell, Essex, and Sidney were arrested. Lord Howard turned King's evidence, and though what he said had no connection with the plot to murder the King, he narrated the meetings which had been held before the departure of Shaftesbury, and thus inculpated Russell. Disregarding the fact that there was but one witness, which is not sufficient to prove an act of treason, the jury found Russell guilty. The same day Essex was found dead in the Tower; in all probability he died by his own hand, as his temperament was known to be morbid and melancholy. Russell was executed. The next victim was Sidney, whose trial was conducted by Jeffreys, now Chief-Justice. Again there was an absence of sufficient witness; but a treatise in which he had supported the advantages of Republicanism was produced, and allowed, contrary to all right, to take the place of a second witness, and Sidney too was put to death.

Rye-House Plot.

The discovery and punishment of this plot rendered the power of the Crown for the time irresistible. Charles was enabled to disregard the law and to continue beyond the time fixed by statute without a Parliament. He was able also to allow the Duke of York, contrary to law, to take his seat again at the Council, and again to have the management of the navy. This illegal course was not followed without opposition, for Halifax, again taking the weaker side, opposed all infractions of the Constitution. On the other hand, the Duke of York, full of arbitrary ideas, was supported by his brother-in-law, Laurence Hyde, Lord Rochester, and by the Duchess of Portland and her friends Godolphin and Sunderland. The contest between these two parties occupied the last year of the reign. Halifax was for returning to the policy of the Triple Alliance, and withstanding Louis, who was again following his course of aggression; while the Duke of York and his friend Rochester still hoped to bring to completion the arrangement with that monarch which had disgraced the earlier part of the reign, and which had rendered Charles for so long a mere vassal of France. Halifax was so far triumphant that he succeeded in getting Rochester removed from his position as First Lord of the Treasury. The quarrel was still unsettled when Charles, in whose hands the decision must

Charles becomes absolute.

Duke of York opposed only by Halifax.

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have rested, unexpectedly died; at length, upon his deathbed, summoning courage to declare his adhesion to the Roman Church, which he had long secretly favoured, though for political reasons he had refrained from all outward exhibitions of his creed.

Death of Charles.

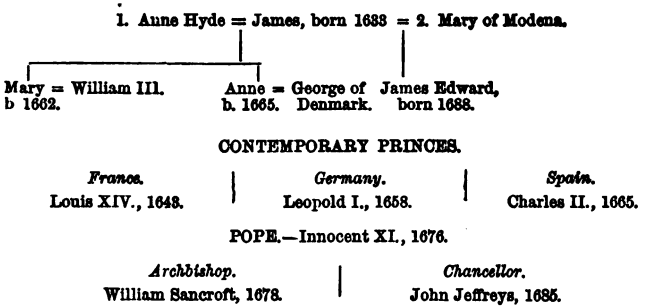
The character of Charles and the part he played in history are alike interesting. He was gifted with excellent abilities, with elegant and artistic tastes, with wit, and a great amount of tact. But all his natural advantages were neutralized by his selfishness. His own ease and the pursuit of pleasure were the objects dearest to him, yet throughout his reign he showed himself an able politician. The natural champion of hereditary right, his effort was throughout to make good the claims of hereditary sovereignty, and, in the face of a very strong opposition, he had so far managed to hold his own position, that in almost every crisis of the reign he managed to obtain his own way, even while allowing the fullest play to party feeling. He kept the formation of the ministry in his own hands, using men of all parties as suited his objects, and closed his reign with a brief period of triumph. He was indeed so successful, and there was such an appearance of prosperity about the country, that those who did not know the secret of his connection with France, regarded that very withdrawal from European politics which we consider the great blot in his reign as the work of clever policy; and foreign Courts congratulated him that, in the midst of trouble and want abroad, he had kept his own kingdom in peace, and secured the prosperity of his people. He perhaps underrated the growth of the country during the Commonwealth, and the strength of the new forces which had sprung into existence during that period. But he was not ignorant of their existence. He was satisfied, however, to secure his own personal success without regard to the future, and thus, though apparently triumphant at the close of his reign, he had obtained that triumph in such a way as to leave behind him a deep-seated feeling of opposition, which his more earnest brother, not perhaps more arbitrary in character but far less skilful in the art of compromise, and far less gifted with the charms of manner which had served Charles in such good stead, shortly excited to an irresistible exhibition of strength.

Character of Charles's reign.

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JAMES II.

1685–1688.



THE death of Charles II. was somewhat unexpected, and took place in the midst of a violent struggle for influence in the Cabinet. It was uncertain at the time whether Rochester or Halifax would gain the upper hand. The views of Halifax were strictly constitutional, and his foreign policy would have gone hand in hand with his domestic views, England would have been freed from her vassalage to France, and the principles of the Triple Alliance upheld. Rochester was a far more complacent character. He was ready to support any measure which would secure him power. The accession of James settled the question. Although Halifax had laid him under a deep debt of gratitude by his conduct during the debate on the Exclusion Bill, his principles were not such as to suit the bigoted and imperious James; and in the reconstitution of the Ministry, while Rochester was raised to the position of Lord-Treasurer, who was then regarded as Prime Minister, Halifax was removed from the very important office of Privy Seal to the dignified but uninfluential position of Lord President. Both Godolphin and

Rochester supersedes Halifax.

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Sunderland, the Secretary, had voted for the Exclusion Bill, but Godolphin's unostentatious ability, and Sunderland's pliancy and mastery of the art of management, rendered them necessary to the King. These three ministers formed in fact the inner Council or Cabinet, on whose advice the King acted; the rest of the Ministry being either opposed to their measures, or regarded with concealed dislike by the King.

In the first moment of excitement James had declared to the Council, in a speech which was afterwards published, his determination to rule constitutionally, and before all things to support the English Church. The facts of his reign were curiously at variance with this declaration. His very first action seemed to give the lie to it. The customs had been settled upon Charles for life only, and could not therefore be legally collected till a Parliament should renew the grant. It was one of those cases when a violation of the law was perhaps necessary, as the course of trade was likely to be deranged if goods were admitted for some weeks free of duty. But instead of following the constitutional advice of his Lord-Keeper, Guildford, who recommended that, though collected, the customs should be kept apart and not used, James preferred to listen to his other legal adviser, Jeffreys, whom he had raised to a peerage and a place in the Council, and issued a proclamation that the customs should be collected and employed exactly as though granted.

James collects the customs without Parliament.

It was however impossible to continue the Government without a Parliament; the feeling against illegal taxation was too strong. This necessity placed James in some difficulty. If he faced his Parliament, he had to make up his mind as to the position he intended to occupy with regard to the affairs of Europe. It was possible that his Parliament would prove refractory. It would almost certainly demand that England should not continue, as at present, a cipher in European politics. But James had projects of internal government which he determined to carry out whether the Parliament were refractory or not. These could only be gained by the possession of money, and except in a Parliamentary way, there was no means of obtaining it, unless he received it, as his brother had done, from the French King, and remained, as his brother had been, a mere vassal to that Prince. Louis saw the importance of the occasion, and immediately upon the death of Charles sent James a present of £37,000, which was afterwards increased by a further present of £30,000, and it was only with a

Receives money unwillingly from Louis.

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humble apology for not consulting his brother of France that James ventured to summon his Parliament. His mind however seems to have been made up. In spite of the presents he had received, he did not intend, if he could help it, to remain in a state of dependence on France, a position which throughout his reign was most odious to him. His conduct must depend upon circumstances. If his Parliament proved friendly, and would give him large supplies, which would enable him to carry out his projects at home, he would break with France, resume the policy of the Triple Alliance, and put himself at the head of the European confederation to check the aggressions of Louis. If, on the other hand, his Parliament proved distrustful and niggardly, he would not risk his domestic plans for any position, however great, abroad, but would accept the wretched place in foreign politics which his brother had held, and remain a French vassal, obtaining in exchange means to complete his home policy. It was with this determination that he met his Parliament on the 19th of May.

But between February, when he ascended the throne, and the time when Parliament assembled, events had occurred which showed what the character of the Government was likely to be. Oates and Dangerfield had been tried and punished. Well as they deserved punishment, the manner in which the trial was conducted by Jeffreys and the inhuman tortures inflicted upon them are beyond excuse. Twice within forty-eight hours Oates was flogged from Newgate to Tyburn. On the last occasion no less than 1700 lashes were inflicted on him; it was certainly intended that he should die under the infliction of this terrible punishment, as his accomplice Dangerfield did. The conduct of the Court was bad enough even in the case of these detestable men, but became simply odious when exhibited against Baxter, a leading Nonconformist divine of great purity of life and unspotted reputation. He was charged with some words, occurring in his paraphrase of the New Testament, which complained of the persecution of Dissenters. Jeffreys refused to hear his defence, abused him in the scurrilous language of which he was master, browbeat and silenced his counsel, and procured a verdict of guilty against him, practically without trial.

Cruel punishment of Oates, Dangerfield, and Baxter.

At the same time a Parliament, which, according to the laws then existing, could only consist of Episcopalians, and was elected entirely by Episcopalians, was held in Scotland, and was induced not only to grant such subsidies as it could afford, but also to pass a sanguinary law by which any one preaching in a conventicle under a roof, or being present at an open-air conventicle, was made guilty of a capital

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crime. The persecution of the Covenanters, too, in the hands of Claverhouse, was carried out with extreme rigour. The King had himself led a cruel persecution against them, when in the last reign he had acted as vicegerent of Scotland. Under his directions now the Western counties, where the Covenanters were strongest, were given over to the hands of the army and the Episcopalian militia, and fearful stories are told of the cruelty with which they exercised their power. It is to this period that the well-known story of the drowning of Margaret Wilson, exposed to the rising of the tide at the Solway Firth, belongs. "Only say," cried her friends, "God save the King." "May God save him," she replied as the waters closed round her, "if it be God's will." "Will she abjure the Covenant?" said the commanding officer. "Never," she replied; "I am Christ's, let me go," and the waves closed over her.

Persecution of the Covenanters by Claverhouse.

The Parliament which assembled on the 22nd of May was such as might well gratify James. His two great objects of domestic policy were the removal of the Test Act and the consequent admission of Roman Catholics to office, and the destruction of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the consequent possession of arbitrary power. The Parliament was almost entirely Tory. The failure of the Rye-House Plot had produced a reaction, which for a time entirely annihilated the Whig influence; while the charters of the towns which had been confiscated had been restored, so arranged as to throw the whole power into Tory hands. When Edward Seymour, member for Exeter, ventured to question the legality of a Parliament thus elected, no one was found to second him. The whole revenue of the late King was voted to James for life; and, in addition, duties were imposed on sugar and tobacco, which put the Crown altogether in possession of £1,900,000. The only clouds which yet appeared on the horizon were the resolutions of a Committee on Religion, calling on the King to put into execution the penal laws against those who were not members of the Church.

First Parliament Tory.

Grants revenue for life.

The apparent triumph of the King and the Tory party was completed by the disastrous failure of the insurrection planned by their adversaries. A knot of exiled malcontents, some Scotch, some English, had collected in Holland. Among them was Monmouth and the Earl of Argyle, son of that Marquis of Argyle who had taken so prominent a part on the Presbyterian side in the Scotch troubles of Charles I.'s reign. Mon-

Insurrection of Monmouth and Argyle.

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mouth had kept aloof from politics till, on the accession of James, he was induced to join the exiles at Amsterdam, whither Argyle, a strong Presbyterian, but a man of lofty and moderate views, also repaired. National jealousy prevented any union between the exiles, and two expeditions were determined on,—the one under Argyle, who hoped to find an army ready to his hand among his clansmen in the West of Scotland, the other under Monmouth in the West of England.

Argyle's expedition set sail on the 2nd of May. The Prince of Orange was desirous of preventing it if possible, being very anxious to secure the adhesion of James to his plans against France. But the awkward double government of the United Provinces allowed the local magistrates of Amsterdam to thwart the command of the central government, the States General, and both the expeditions got away in safety. Argyle's invasion was ruined by the limited authority intrusted to him, and by the jealousy and insubordination of his fellow leaders. He was anxious himself to secure the country of his own clansmen, and make that the basis of future operations. In this he was supported by Rumbold, an old soldier of Cromwell's, and the owner of that Rye-House from which the plot had taken its name. But Hume and Cochrane, two Lowland gentlemen, insisted upon the invasion being directed towards the Lowlands. Argyle was compelled to separate his forces. But experience proving that the Lowlanders had no intention of rising, the detachments again assembled in the Isle of Bute. The castle of Ealan Ghierig was captured and made a depôt for provisions, and Argyle at length yielded to the importunity of the other commanders and advanced towards the Lowlands. They had scarcely landed when they heard that their provisions had been captured by the English frigates. Thus deprived of supplies, in a hostile country, without the natural support of his clansmen, Argyle's attempt was hopeless. On crossing the river Leven he was met by the Royalist troops, and again thwarted in his desire for immediate action, was forced to begin a retreat, during which his army disbanded. He was himself taken in Renfrewshire, and after an exhibition of admirable constancy, was beheaded, not upon any charge for his present conduct, but for an old unrepealed charge of treason, notoriously supported on such weak evidence, that Halifax stated that in England it would not have been considered sufficient to hang a dog.

Argyle's expedition.

Execution of Argyle. June 30.

A week before the final dispersion of Argyle's troops, Monmouth had landed in England. He was well received in the West. He had

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not been twenty-four hours in England before he found himself at the head of 1500 men; but though popular among the common people, he received no support from the upper classes. Even the strongest Whigs disbelieved the story of his legitimacy, and thought his attempt ill-timed and fraught with danger. The militia in the neighbourhood was collected by the Royalist Lord-Lieutenant, and Parliament hastily passed an Act of Attainder against the Duke, authorized the King to raise extraordinary sums of money to be derived from new duties, and brought in a Bill declaring it high treason to utter words which should bring the person or government of the sovereign into contempt. This Act was however never completed; the necessary work was hurried through, and the House was adjourned, that all attention might be given to the insurrection. Meanwhile Monmouth had advanced to Taunton, had been there received with enthusiasm, and vainly thinking to attract the nobility, had assumed the title of King. Nor was his reception at Bridgewater less flattering. But difficulties already began to gather round him; he was in such want of arms, that, though rustic implements were converted into pikes, he was still obliged to send away many volunteers; the militia were closing in upon him in all directions; Bristol had been seized by the Duke of Beaufort, and the regular army under Feversham and Churchill were approaching. His first thought was to march up the right bank of the Severn into Cheshire; but this was pronounced impracticable. He then thought to take Bristol; but he wished to attack it on the weaker or northern side, and losing time in repairing the bridge of Keynsham, and in marching by that indirect course, he allowed the regular cavalry to come up; his vanguard was beaten on the bridge, and the attack on Bristol given up. He then pushed forward towards Wiltshire, where he expected to find reinforcements, followed on his march by Feversham, the royal commander. A skirmish took place at Philip's Norton, which was favourable to the insurgents, and Monmouth marched to Frome, where he hoped to find both men and arms. But the Earl of Pembroke, with the Wiltshire militia, had already captured that town and carried off the arms. Bad news too was received on all sides. Argyle's expedition was a failure; Feversham's artillery had come up, and he was preparing for battle, and Monmouth losing heart, determined to return towards Bridgewater.

Monmouth's expedition.

He reached that place in a much less triumphant condition than when he had last entered it. The Royalist army was close behind him, and on the 5th of July encamped about three miles from Bridgewater,

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on the plain of Sedgmoor. Feversham was no general, and although Churchill was with him, he was unable to interfere with the arrangements. The Royalist army was consequently encamped, without much care, in three distinct divisions, and Monmouth, though despairing of the fate of a pitched battle, thought it possible that by a night attack he might surprise and destroy them. The night was not unfitting for such an enterprise; for the mist was so thick that at a few paces nothing could be seen. Three great ditches by which the moor was drained lay between the armies; of the third of these, strangely enough, Monmouth knew nothing. Two of them were passed, but, in the passage of the second, delay was caused by the mist, and a pistol which was discharged by accident alarmed the Royalist scouts, who went off to collect the troops. Monmouth at once pushed forward his cavalry under Lord Grey, but inexperienced themselves, mounted upon unbroken horses, and under a commander whose courage under fire was questionable, these horsemen were astonished to find a third deep drain, called the Bussex Rhine, immediately between them and the enemy, who were already lining its banks. They at once broke and dispersed. The infantry in its turn advanced, and fought gallantly across the ditch. But the surprise had evidently failed. Alarmed by the fugitive horsemen, the ammunition waggons left the field. The royal troops under Churchill, for Feversham was only now rising from his bed, were well handled, and fell upon the insurgent infantry in all directions. Monmouth saw that the day was lost, and with the love of life which was one of the characteristics of his soft nature, he turned and fled. Even after his flight the battle was kept up bravely. At length the arrival of the King's artillery put an end to any further struggle. The defeat was followed by all the terrible scenes which mark a suppressed insurrection. The victorious soldiery spread riot and destruction in all directions, and military executions filled the country with bloodshed. Monmouth and Grey pursued their flight into the New Forest, and were there apprehended in the neighbourhood of Ringwood. They were brought to London, and the King, with strange cruelty, had a personal interview with the nephew he was determined not to pardon. Monmouth lowered himself to the most unmanly petitions for life, but in vain. The King listened to his prayers, but told him that his repentance was too late, and he was executed, leaving behind him a memory which was fondly cherished by the commonalty.

Battle of Sedgmoor. July 6.

Execution of Monmouth. July 15.

The failure of this insurrection was followed by the most terrible cruelties. Feversham returned to London, to be flattered by the

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King and laughed at by the Court for his military exploits. He left Colonel Kirke in command at Bridgewater. This man had learned, as commander of Tangier, all the worst arts of cruel despotism. His soldiery in bitter pleasantry were called Kirke's "Lambs," from the emblem of their regiment. It is impossible to say how many suffered at the hands of this man and his brutal troops; 100 captives are said by some to have been put to death the week after the battle. But this military revenge did not satisfy the Court. Jeffreys, with four judges, was sent out on the Western Circuit. The death of Lord Guildford enabled the King to hint that the Great Seal would reward his good services. This hope and his natural temper filled him with a ferocity which has given the name of the Bloody Assizes to his cruel circuit. In Dorchester 300 prisoners were tried, 292 sentenced to death, and 74 actually hanged. In Somersetshire 233 prisoners were hanged, drawn and quartered. These sentences were rendered more bitter by the brutal levity of the judge, constantly heightened by drink. Besides those executed, 841 prisoners were transported, which means that they were to be slaves for ten years in the West India Islands. These poor wretches he granted out as presents to courtiers. They were valued at from £10 to £15 apiece. The Queen and the ladies of her Court did not shrink from obtaining a share of them.

Cruelties of Kirke and Jeffreys.

This bloody triumph brought the power of James to its height: the Tories had stood by him, the Whigs had not joined the insurrection; he felt himself safe. With his large income from Parliament, he fancied he could do without the help of France, concluded an alliance with Holland, and entered into negotiations with Spain. And this he thought he could do without relinquishing his domestic plans—the repeal of the Test Act and of the Habeas Corpus, and the creation of a standing army. On all these points, however, even the subservient and Tory Parliament which he had assembled was likely to oppose him. He began by allowing Roman Catholic officers to hold commissions in the newly-raised regiments, and asserted that, even if he could not get the Act repealed, he would none the less break it. This produced much indignation, which Halifax expressed in the Council, and was therefore dismissed. Halifax was not alone; Danby and his friends were also staunch supporters of the Church. Apprehension was increased by the persecution of Protestants which Louis XIV. was carrying out in France;[1] the general feeling was so strong that, when Parliament again met, an Opposition had been formed.

Climax of James's power.

James breaks the Test Act.

[1] The Edict of Nantes was revoked, Oct. 26, 1685.

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In his speech from the throne, James made use of the rebellion to recommend his two favourite projects. "It was plain," he said, "that, to avoid such risings in the future, a standing army was necessary, and he hoped that supplies to meet this expense would be granted." At the same time he by no means intended to remove any of those Roman Catholic officers who had served him so faithfully, although disqualified by the Test Act. He thus touched on both points on which the High Tories felt most strongly. The Opposition, headed by Seymour, at once proceeded to oppose the increase of the army; but the first trial of strength between the parties occurred upon the question whether the supplies should be discussed before the Test Act, according to the order in which these points occurred in the King's speech. Every effort was made to secure a majority; but even in the House of Commons, which had been chosen by the most unscrupulous exercise of power, the Opposition were victorious by one vote. A petition against the infringement of the Test Act was then carried; and, to complete the misfortune of the Government, the supply granted only amounted to half what the King demanded. The Commons would grant no more than £700,000. The Opposition also manifested itself in the House of Lords. Compton, Bishop of London, and Cavendish, Earl of Devonshire, began to act against the Court. In spite of the presence of the King, it became evident that his speech would meet with somewhat the same treatment as it had in the Commons; the King therefore prorogued the Parliament.

Wishes to increase the army.

Opposition in both Lords and Commons.

In his determination to support his own religion, James began to take steps which rapidly alienated from him his firmest supporters in the Church of England. Although Charles had declared himself a Roman Catholic upon his deathbed, the step had been taken so quietly and secretly that it was still open to loyal Churchmen to believe that he had died an Anglican. James had found among his private papers a short recapitulation of the chief arguments against Protestantism. This, although the arguments were of the most ordinary description, seemed to James so triumphant a piece of reasoning, that, without caring how much he shocked the feelings of loyal Protestants, he had it published, and was constantly referring to it. In fact, the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion had now become his chief object.

James alienates the Church.

The Court was divided into two parties. At the head of one was Rochester, the brother of James's first wife, a passionate man, of low morality, but a strong Churchman. Around

Parties at the Court.

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him gathered the party of the English Church, and also the more moderate Catholics, such as Lords Powis and Bellasyse, who, partly from love of civil freedom, partly from fear of the consequences, deprecated hasty measures. In close alliance with this party it is somewhat strange to find the Papal Legate, who was moreover acting in strict accordance with the wishes of the Pope himself. Political interests were for the time paramount at the Court of Rome. In the quarrel then raging between the Jesuits and the Jansenists, Innocent XI. had in some degree adopted the cause of the latter, while Louis XIV. of France was the champion of the Jesuits. The Pope's quarrel with Louis had induced him naturally to seek his allies among the enemies of France. He had connected himself not only with Austria, but with the Protestant Dutch. It would have much strengthened his cause could England have been added to this alliance. But such a step was possible only if James was at one with his Parliament; the Pope therefore strongly deprecated any of those vigorous measures for the restoration of Catholicism which would inevitably cause a breach between James and his people.

Against this party were arrayed a cabal of extreme Catholic partisans, such as the Irishman Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel; the Jesuit Petre, who represented the interests of that powerful association; and as their chief, Sunderland, anxious at all price to destroy the influence of Rochester and to obtain supreme hold on the Government. The struggle for pre-eminence was sharp. Rochester's party did not disdain to use the influence of Catherine Sedley, the King's mistress; but the religious influence of Petre and the anger of the Queen succeeded in driving her from the Court. From that time Rochester's influence began to decline. Everything showed the triumph of Sunderland's party. The King openly declared that all thought of entering upon an independent foreign policy was over. He prorogued the Parliament till November. He sent a stately embassy, under Castlemaine, to Rome, where however it was but coldly received, and when a large subscription was raised for the Huguenot exiles from France, unable to withdraw a royal letter in their favour, he forbade all preaching on the subject, and would not let them touch a penny of the money unless they accepted the Anglican form of worship.

Triumph of Sunderland and the extreme Catholic party.

Parliament prorogued.

These measures were but preparatory. He believed himself possessed of two powers which, unless checked by Parliament—which he prorogued a second time—would enable him to do all he wanted in

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England. By the dispensing power he could admit Roman Catholics to all offices; by his position as Head of the Church coerce the clergy to obedience. Charles II. had in 1672 attempted a general declaration of indulgence. This he had been forced to withdraw, and solemnly to declare illegal. It was not however so clear that the right of dispensing with the action of penal statutes in individual cases was not still part of the prerogative, a sort of exercise beforehand of the royal right of pardon. James determined to get the question settled by law. He therefore discovered the sentiments of the judges, and displaced those whom he found opposed to him. In the same way he found it necessary to turn out of office Finch, the Solicitor-General, and to appoint in his place Thomas Powis, a man of no ability, but likely to prove subservient. With counsel and judges thus ready, a sham suit was instituted by one of his servants against Sir Edward Hales, a Roman Catholic, and Colonel of a regiment. He sued him for the penalty of £500, to which he was liable for not having received the sacrament in the Church of England for three months. The facts were allowed, and the question of law was tried. The Chief-Justice, Sir Edward Herbert, declared that of the twelve judges eleven thought that the King had the right to dispense with a particular statute on particular cases. It is possible that the one dissentient gave his vote according to order, to give an air of plausibility to the judgment.

Dispensing power asserted.

Upheld by the Judges.

The King at once acted with his newly-fortified power. He authorized Roman Catholics to hold ecclesiastical benefices. Obadiah Walker retained the Mastership of University College, Oxford, and the College became in fact a Roman Catholic seminary, where a printing-press and chapel were established. More important than this, the Deanery of Christ Church, not only a University but a Cathedral office, was given to Massey, a Roman Catholic, and two of three Sees vacant at that time were given, if not to avowed, yet to concealed Catholics. James's power as Supreme Head of the Church was checked by his want of coercive machinery. He therefore proceeded to re-establish the Court of High Commission, at the head of which he put the infamous Jeffreys, and by aid of which he at once proceeded to suspend Compton, Bishop of London, because he had refused to prevent one Sharp from preaching against the Roman Catholics. Not content with these illegal acts, James further excited the anger of the inhabitants of London, till they broke out into open riot, by exhibiting before their eyes all the paraphernalia of the

Used to give benefices to Roman Catholics.

High Commission Court established. 1686.

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Roman religion. He used this riot as an excuse for forwarding his other great plan, and formed a permanent encampment of regular troops upon Hounslow Heath.

Permanent army at Hounslow.

Similar action had also produced much discontent in Scotland. The Earl of Perth, the Chancellor, and his brother Lord Melfort, the Secretary of State, having apostatized to the Roman Church, secured the fall of Queensberry, the Lord-Treasurer, and were attempting to remove the disabilities of Catholics, while continuing the persecution of the Covenanters. They hoped the Estates would support them, but although general toleration might have been carried, support of the Roman Catholics alone found no favour. The Lords of the Articles, themselves named by the Crown, refused to propose such a measure. Even a very much softened Act, allowing Roman Catholics private worship, was thrown out. The Parliament, therefore, like the English Assembly, was prorogued, and arbitrary government in fact established. The King filled up on his own authority municipal offices, and annulled all Acts against Papists.

Similar action in Scotland,

In Ireland the same work was going on; but there the circumstances were different. For in that country there was an indissoluble connection between the interests of religion and of race, so that any attempt to replace the Catholics in a position of supremacy or even of equality was in fact to destroy the predominance of the English race, which had been secured by the Act of Settlement. The settlement of Ireland, begun by Cromwell in person, was completed under his influence by Ireton and Fleetwood, his sons-in-law. The measures taken had been of the severest description, and aimed at the thorough subjugation of the island, not only in the interests of Protestantism, but in those of the Commonwealth and of England. A certain number, about 200, of the insurgents of 1641 were executed; all officers in the late Catholic army were banished, each chief taking with him a certain number of men, so that between 30,000 and 40,000 of the Catholic population withdrew to the Continent, and took service with foreign powers. The Royalists and Catholics were then arranged in classes, and their property confiscated in various proportions, according to the degree in which they had been implicated with the Catholic confederates of Kilkenny. All the larger Catholic landowners were thus deprived of from one to two thirds of their estates. They were not even allowed to keep the residue of their old estates, but obliged to accept an equivalent in

and in Ireland.

First Act of Settlement, 1652.

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Connaught and Clare, for it was the intention of the Government to restrict the Catholics and Irish to the right bank of the Shannon. The estates thus left deserted in ten of the counties on the left bank were set aside for the English adventurers who had advanced money at the beginning of the Irish disturbances, and to pay the arrears due to Cromwell's army. The vacant lands in Dublin, Cork, Kildare, and Carlow were reserved for future disposal. A certain number of the dispossessed proprietors refused to accept the alternative offered them in Clare and Connaught, and took to the mountains and bogs, but 800,000 acres beyond the Shannon were thus occupied. Strict martial law was established to secure the carrying out of this sweeping measure, and very severe laws against the Catholic religion passed. On the succession of Charles II., similar difficulties with regard to the land with those which had arisen in England met him in Ireland. It was difficult to dispossess the adventurers whose claims had been accepted by Charles I., and dangerous to touch the property of so formidable a body as the Commonwealth soldiers. Yet thousands of petitions were presented, demanding restitution of property by banished Royalists, both Protestants and Catholics, many of whom had held aloof from the Kilkenny rebels, by officers who had served in the Royalist not the Catholic army, and by others who had served in the royal army in Flanders. There was yet a considerable amount of forfeited land undistributed, and relying upon this resource, an Act of Settlement was passed, by which the adventurers and Commonwealth soldiers were to keep their possessions, or be compensated from the funds in hand; and all Royalists, whether Catholic or Protestant, innocent of rebellion, were to be restored to their estates, and those who had not accepted the grants in Clare and Connaught were to get back their property. But when this Act came to be executed insuperable difficulties were found to exist. The funds at the King's command had been so exhausted by lavish grants to great lords and to the Church, that there was nothing left to meet the claims of those whom the Commissioners had declared innocent, and who amounted to upwards of 3000. After some years of disturbance, the soldiers, adventurers, and those who had lately received grants, consented to yield up a third of what they had gained; and, by an explanatory Act passed in 1665, the claims of the Royalist officers and some fifty-four Catholics were allowed, and paid out of this new fund. All the rest of the very numerous claims were simply disregarded. When the transaction was completed, its results appear to

Second Act of Settlement. 1661.

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have been that about one-half of the island previously in the hands of Protestants remained unchanged; of the other half which had been forfeited, about two-thirds now remained also in the hands of Protestants, the remaining one-third only having been restored to Catholic proprietors. So complete was the English supremacy thus established, that one Papist only had been returned to Parliament since the Restoration. A wise governor, having the good of England at heart, would have attempted to uphold the Act of Settlement, while employing able men of both races. But James, urged by Tyrconnel, seemed determined to destroy the Act, and with it the English supremacy, to lavish all his favours on the Celts and Catholics, and even, should need arise, to use an Irish army against his English subjects. Clarendon, Rochester's brother, was sent over as Lord-Lieutenant; but he speedily found that the real power was in the hands of Tyrconnel; and when that nobleman came himself to Ireland in the capacity of general, it became evidently the intention to fill the entire army, both officers and privates, with men of native birth. Many of the Protestants fled to England. At length Clarendon, who was a staunch Churchman, was told that he was not zealous enough for the King, and his place was taken by Tyrconnel.

James favours the Irish Catholics.

Tyrconnel supersedes Clarendon. 1687.

About the same time Sunderland's party completed their victory by securing the fall of Rochester. It was in vain that he had done everything that the King required, had even lowered himself to pretend that he was beginning to question the truth of his Protestant belief; the choice was at length put to him to change his religion or to lose his place. One spark of honesty which was left in him showed itself, and he gave up his post as Lord Treasurer. This office was then put into Commission, at the head of which was placed Lord Bellasyse, a Roman Catholic.

Rochester is dismissed.

The fall of the Hydes marks the final triumph of the extreme Catholic Cabal. With reckless disregard of consequences James determined on a sweeping measure, the declaration of a general indulgence, by which he hoped to gain the support of the Protestant Dissenters. The Declaration was issued on the 4th of April. In it, by his sole authority, he annulled all penal laws and all religious tests. It was plain that in this he was acting wholly illegally. So broad a measure was very different from his dispensation in the case of Sir Edward Hales, and was in direct contravention of the law as declared after a similar effort of Charles II. James was disappointed in its effect. Although some few of the Nonconformists

Declaration of Indulgence. April 4.

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gave him their adhesion, and others were glad to enjoy the indulgence, the greater part of them, in their love for civil liberty, expressed disapprobation of the measure. It was plain to them, in fact, that it was only an indirect way of opening the door to the Catholics, who already presided at the Treasury, and held the Lieutenancy of Ireland and the Privy Seal.

Strong opposition.

All these measures had raised so strong an opposition in England that James was afraid to meet his Parliament. The Whig party indeed, joined by the greater part of the Tories, was again raising its head, and had found a leader in the Prince of Orange. His ambassador, Dyckvelt, entered into close relations with the Opposition; and although the Prince declined immediate action, he henceforward watched with close attention the turn of affairs in England. Afraid to meet his Parliament, James dissolved it, and proceeded in his high-handed course.

The Whigs apply to William of Orange.

The Court of High Commission had as yet confined itself to spiritual functions. It now began to attack the property of its victims. In February 1687, contrary to all law, the University of Cambridge was ordered to give the degree of Master of Arts to a Benedictine monk called Francis. The University declined, unless he would take the usual oaths. The Vice-Chancellor and deputies from the Senate, among whom was Sir Isaac Newton, were summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commission, and after being rated by Jeffreys, the Vice-Chancellor was deprived of his office and of his salary as Master of the College, which was freehold property. At Oxford the same line of conduct was pursued. The President of Magdalen College had died. The Fellows had a right to elect his successor; when they met for the purpose they found that the King had recommended Anthony Farmer, a man of notoriously bad life and a Roman Catholic. Their protestations were without effect. They therefore proceeded to elect, contrary to the King's mandate, John Hough, one of their number. They were summoned before the High Commission, but in spite of Jeffreys' bullying, the proof of Farmer's unfitness was so plain that his election was not pressed. In his place Parker, Bishop of Oxford, was nominated; but the Fellows replied that Hough was duly elected, and refused to accept anybody else. In the summer the King, during a progress, visited Oxford. He there had an interview with the Fellows, but found them still firm. Consequently, a special commission was sent down, which, after ejecting

Further aggressions of the Court of High Commission, at Cambridge and Oxford.

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Hough, installed Parker, and turned all the Fellows out of the College, making them incapable of holding any Church preferment. Shortly afterwards the "demies" or scholars of the College, who had shown sympathy with the ejected Fellows, were themselves turned out; and the death of Parker enabled the King to put in a Roman Catholic President, and to fill the College with Roman Catholic Fellows.

The chief dread of James's advisers was lest the death of the King without children should put Mary and her husband, the Prince of Orange, on the throne. All their work would then be undone, and probably bitter revenge taken for it. They were therefore delighted when it was reported as probable that the Queen might have a child.

Schemes for a Catholic successor.

Before that, they had been planning to change the succession; it was hoped that Anne might become Roman Catholic, and that then the throne might be passed on to her. They found her, however, obstinate, and the more violent of them had had thoughts of putting either the Duke of Berwick, or some other Papist, not of royal blood, on the throne. James and Tyrconnel had also set on foot a plan for separating Ireland from England, and putting it under the protection of France. These plans seemed now unnecessary; and the King considered his system triumphant if he could but get a Parliamentary sanction for it. Both the electors and the House of Lords, he knew, were strongly opposed to him.

His vain attempts to secure a favourable Parliament.

A favourable Parliament could only be obtained by violent exertions of power. From these, however, James did not shrink. He set to work to organize the electoral body. A Committee of seven Privy Councillors was appointed to regulate the corporations, and branch committees were scattered through the country. For the returns from the counties the King trusted to the Lords-Lieutenant. He ordered them to assemble the deputy-lieutenants and justices, to inquire whether they would assist the King's measures, and to furnish lists of Papists and Nonconformists fitted for office. Half the Lords-Lieutenant at once resigned, numbering among them the greatest of the nobility of England. Their places were occupied by creatures of the Court. Thus Jeffreys had two counties; to the Duke of Berwick was intrusted Hampshire; to Preston the counties of the North. The plan was a complete failure. The country gentry, whether Whig or Tory, were now thoroughly roused. A clever ambiguous form of answer was circulated, which they all accepted; and in spite of all the efforts of

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the Lords-Lieutenant, it was evident that the elections must go against the Court. The regulators of the corporations found the same state of affairs; it was in vain that they destroyed and remade corporations again and again in a few weeks; the new authorities were as firm as their predecessors. It was plain that all hope of a favourable Parliament had disappeared. James still however declared that he intended to call one not later than next November.

Meanwhile he published a second Declaration of Indulgence, much the same as the preceding one; but the clergy, to their horror, shortly heard that an order in Council had been made that this Declaration was to be read in the churches in London on the 20th of May and on the following Sunday, in the rest of England on the two first Sundays of June. This was a burden too heavy for the Church to bear. In spite of their doctrine of non-resistance, it was impossible for them quietly to publish a Declaration which they knew full well was intended for their destruction. The public mind was in the greatest excitement, for the clergy were afraid that the Nonconformists, thinking only of toleration for themselves, might accept the Declaration. The Nonconformists, however, acted with noble patriotism. They solemnly refused to accept or countenance so grave a breach of the Constitution. With their hands thus strengthened, the London clergy determined that they would not read the Declaration; and at a meeting at Lambeth, Sancroft, the Primate, drew up a petition full of assertions of loyalty, but begging to be free from the necessity of breaking the law, by reading an illegal Declaration in the midst of public service. This paper was signed by the Archbishop and six Bishops.[1] With this petition they repaired to the King, having first asked Sunderland to present it. James, taken by surprise, received them very roughly, declaring it was the standard of rebellion. By some means the petition was printed and circulated immediately, and was rapidly bought up throughout the country. The petition was presented on the Friday before the 20th of May. On that day the people thronged the churches to hear what would happen. Four only of the London clergy attempted to read the Declaration, and their congregations left the church as soon as they began to read.

Orders Declaration of Indulgence to be read in churches.

The seven Bishops petition against it.

The King, somewhat frightened at this demonstration, determined,

[1] Ken of Bath and Wells, White of Peterborough, Lloyd of St. Asaph, Trelawney of Bristol, Lake of Chichester, and Turner of Ely.

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on the advice of Jeffreys, to bring the Bishops before the King's Bench for having published a seditious libel. He felt sure of the partisan judges he had appointed, and of the jury nominated in London, now that the charter of that city had been forfeited. When summoned before the Council, for a long time the Bishops refused to acknowledge their writing, but when absolutely commanded by the King to answer, they naturally supposed that there was an implied promise that their word should not be used against them, and confessed their signatures. They were ordered to find bail, but pleaded that they were Peers, and not bound to do so for libel. They were therefore committed to the Tower. The excitement was prodigious. They passed down the river between lines of boats full of enthusiastic people calling on God to bless them; the very sentinels at the Tower prayed for their blessing, and drank to their health. Many of the most important of the Peers crowded to pay their respects to them, and what was still more offensive to the King, a deputation of Nonconformists waited upon them. The King insisted on carrying through the trial. They were brought to the King's Bench, and discharged upon their own recognisances. In the midst of the agitation, the birth of the Prince of Wales took place (June 10), but as the nation universally believed the child to be supposititious, and the birth a mere invention of the Jesuits to exclude the Princess Mary from her due, it only added to the popular excitement.

Are sent to the Tower. June 8.

At length the trial took place. The handwriting was only proved by producing the clerk of the Council, who could swear to the Bishops having there confessed their signatures. It was plain from the way in which this evidence was introduced that the prosecution was itself ashamed of using it. The next step was to prove the publication, and as no one had been present when the petition was presented, this seemed impossible. The judges were already summing up, a verdict of acquittal seemed necessary, when Finch, one of the Bishops' counsel, checked the proceedings, and asked to be heard. This step was nearly disastrous. Before the summing up was resumed, news was brought to the Solicitor-General that the Lord President could prove the publishing of the libel, and the traitor Sunderland, who, finding his influence waning, had lately, though notoriously an unbeliever, professed himself a Roman Catholic, appeared in the box, and told how the Bishops had begged him to present the petition. The technical difficulties being thus removed, the question was tried on its merits. After a trial of some hours, in

Their trial. June 27.

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which the prisoners' counsel had obviously the best of the argument, and which was closed by a terse, unanswerable speech from their junior counsel, Summers, the judges proceeded to give their judgments. They all, even Wright, the venal Chief-Justice, were afraid openly to uphold the indulgence, and one of them, Powell, was bold enough to assert his firm belief in its illegality, but the jury could not at first agree. The night was passed by the whole town in a feverish anxiety. One of the jury, Arnold, the royal brewer, refused for a long time to risk the King's patronage by a hostile verdict; he was at length over-persuaded, and a verdict of "not guilty" was followed by an explosion of enthusiastic joy such as has seldom been seen. The very army at Hounslow, which the King had only just reviewed, burst into joyful shouts at the news, even before the King was out of hearing.

Acquittal, June 30.

That very same day Admiral Herbert, dressed in the clothes of a common sailor, left London, to take to Holland a letter signed by seven names, representing great sections of popular opinion, requesting William, Prince of Orange, to bring an army into England, to secure the liberties of the people. These names were those of Henry Sidney, the brother of Algernon; the Earl of Devonshire, who was regarded as the chief of the old Whigs; Shrewsbury; Danby, the old Tory minister of Charles II.; Bishop Compton, the suspended Bishop of London, who had been the tutor to the Princess of Orange; Lumley; and Edward Russell, who had been the first to bring to the Prince of Orange the suggestion that he should appear in arms in England. The invitation set forth the injuries of England, the discontent of the people, and the excellence of the opportunity. The gentlemen who had signed the document pledged themselves to join him.

Invitation sent to William of Orange.

The invitation, backed by such important names, was accepted by William, though indeed the difficulties in the way of his undertaking appeared almost insuperable. In England the temper of the majority of the people, though at present in his favour, might speedily turn against him. A victory which should arouse the national pride would be almost as disastrous as a defeat. In his own country he had to expect the opposition of that great oligarchic party which was the hereditary opponent of the House of Orange. War and peace, alliances and taxation, rested with the States-General; but that body could only act on the approval of the provincial states. Those provincial states could only give that approval after it had been given by all the towns represented in them.

William's difficulties.

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The obstinate veto of one town would therefore prevent the States-General from acting. Such a veto William had every reason to expect from Amsterdam, where the oligarchic and French party was very powerful. Besides these particular difficulties, there was one of a more general character. William's views were those of a European, not of a Dutch statesman. His object was to curtail the power of France. For that purpose he had with consummate skill consolidated a great alliance in Europe, consisting of members of both the Protestant and Catholic communions. The addition of England to that alliance would be of the highest value, but even for so valuable a prize nothing must be risked which might shake the stability of those connections which had already been established. Now the success of the great general scheme of William depended on his keeping together a vast alliance, consisting of both Protestant and Catholic states. If he threw himself too heartily into the quarrel in England as a religious quarrel, the chances were great that he would have to break with his Catholic allies.

Removed by the folly of his enemies.

His task was lightened by the infatuation of James and the high-handed errors of Louis. James would naturally have relied chiefly upon the clergy, who habitually upheld the theory of passive resistance, and upon the army which he had enrolled for his own express purposes, and into which he had introduced many Catholics, in virtue of the dispensing power which he claimed. He proceeded to shock the loyalty both of the clergy and the army. Full of anger at the acquittal of the Bishops, he determined to act in future through a less scrupulous court than the Court of King's Bench. Within a fortnight of the trial, an order was given to all chancellors of dioceses and archdeacons to return to the High Commission a list of those who had failed to read the Declaration. Their number was probably little short of 10,000. His intended vengeance was indeed foiled; the archdeacons and chancellors did not send up the lists; when the High Commission met, it had no ground on which to proceed; but the threat of vengeance none the less alienated the clergy. What had most distressed the King, after the acquittal of the Bishops, was the conduct of the army, whose joyful cheers he had heard as he drove from Hounslow to London. He felt that he could not rely upon the soldiers. His more energetic counsellors urged him to bring over those Irish forces which Tyrconnel had been organizing. Afraid to bring over the whole army, which might perhaps have re-established his authority, he was yet foolish enough to bring over considerable numbers, too few to effect his

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purpose, but enough to excite the anger of the English regiments with which he incorporated them. By these means the English troops were so irritated that the lieutenant-colonel and five captains of one regiment alone refused to serve if the Irish recruits were admitted; while the whole nation, who regarded the Irish as barbarians, were excited to anger, and the danger of shocking the national pride which William had feared was removed. The defeat of James's army, half composed of barbarous Irish, by the Dutch troops and their English allies, would have caused no displeasure to the people.

While James thus removed William's chief difficulties in England, Louis was pursuing the same course abroad. His conduct to the Protestants after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was such as to excite the strongest anger in Holland. As if this was not enough, he proceeded to interfere with what was, if possible, dearer to the Dutch than their religion, namely, their trade. He passed laws prohibiting the importation of several of the chief articles of commerce, notably their herrings. The consequence was much commercial distress, and so complete an alienation of all classes from the French interests, that William had little to fear from his compatriots. There remained the difficulty of insuring the co-operation of William's Catholic allies. Louis took the opportunity of alienating the Pope. The right of asylum and freedom from Government interference had been enjoyed by the foreign embassies at Rome. The privileges had been extended to considerable distances round those embassies. The Pope, eager for the better government of his city, had persuaded all the nations to give up this pernicious right, with the exception of Louis. In the haughtiest and most overbearing manner, Louis sent troops to Rome, and established his ambassador in his old privileges by force of arms. Nor was this all. The archbishopric of Cologne had become vacant. Louis wished to establish his influence in this district, which gave him access to the Rhine. By intrigues he believed he had secured the election of Fürstensburg, Bishop of Strasburg. The rival of Fürstensburg was Prince Clement of Bavaria. As both claimants were Bishops, in accordance with the rules of the Church the votes of two-thirds of the Chapter of Cologne were necessary for their election. The Pope contrived to secure more than a third, and as Prince Clement alone had the Papal dispensation to accept the archbishopric, he was declared elected. Louis wrote very bitterly on the subject, and it was plain that he intended to uphold the claims of his candidate by arms.

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He prepares for his descent on England.

These steps of his enemies, together with the skill with which he himself presented his undertaking to the Catholics as political and aimed against France, to the Protestants as religious and aimed against Catholicism, enabled William to triumph over the difficulties which beset him, and he proceeded to make great preparations, both naval and military, veiling them under the thin excuse of an expedition against the Algerine pirates, who had lately appeared in the North of Europe. While thus engaged, William received from England an offer of support from two men of the greatest importance. One of these was Sunderland, the most trusted minister of James. This unprincipled nobleman, to retain his offices, had lately become a convert to the Romish religion. But now seeing the threatened reaction against James, he contrived, by means of his wife and her lover Henry Sidney, to keep William well informed of what was going on in England. The other offer of friendship came from a man of even lower principles, but of greater talents, Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough. He and his wife had become absolute masters of the Princess Anne. His accession to William's plans therefore implied that of the Princess. He was moreover really at the head of the army, though Feversham was nominally its leader, and now devoted himself with the basest treachery to the task of undermining the fidelity of the commanders of the army, while declaring his loyalty to James, and became in fact the head of a great plot for the desertion of the monarch.

James obstinately refuses to take warning.

It was in vain that to the eyes of all Europe the objects of William's preparations were obvious; James refused to believe them. It was in vain that Louis attempted to save him in spite of himself, and declared to the States-General that he had taken the King of England under his protection, and should treat any action against him as a declaration of war. James, with ill-timed anger, declared that this was not so, and asked whether he had fallen so low as to require, like a petty Elector of Cologne, the support of France, forgetting at the wrong moment the servile position with regard to that country he had been contented so long to occupy. Thus did he throw away his last chance. Louis, justly angry at his display of pride, withdrew the troops he was preparing to pour into the Spanish Netherlands, and began a rapid and successful campaign against the Imperialists on the Rhine.

This movement withdrew the last danger from William, and gave him time to carry out his plans. He could now without danger

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demand the approval of the States-General, and having obtained it, he appointed Schomberg, the greatest soldier of the time (who was now a fugitive from France on account of his religion), his second in command, and issued a great Declaration, drawn up with much skill by his friend, the Grand-pensioner Fagel, and translated by Burnet, Princess Mary's chaplain, and subsequently Bishop of Salisbury. In this he calmly recapitulated all the unconstitutional acts of James—the admission of Papists into the public service, the establishment of the High Commission Court, the dismissal of officers for refusing to support the Court policy, the confiscation of the charters, the degradation of the judicial bench, the trial of the Bishops for a respectful petition. He then declared that, as husband of the heiress of England (for grave doubts hung over the birth of the young Prince of Wales), and in compliance with the request of many Lords, both spiritual and temporal, he was going to England with an armed force, sufficient to secure a free and legal Parliament, by the decision of which he pledged himself to abide.

William issues his Declaration. Oct. 10.

The appearance of this Declaration at length convinced James of his danger, and he hastily took a series of steps which he hoped might yet conciliate his subjects. He promised to protect the Church and maintain the Act of Uniformity; he rescinded Compton's suspension; he offered to exclude Roman Catholics from the House of Commons; he replaced magistrates who had been dismissed for their constitutional conduct; on the petition of the clergy, he abolished the Court of High Commission; he restored the charter to the City of London; put back the excluded Fellows of Magdalen College; and returned the confiscated charters to the boroughs. On the dispensing power, however, he would not retract. But these concessions were too late; they were too obviously the fruit of fear. Mistrust, the growth of many years, could not be so easily effaced. At the same time, suspecting the duplicity of Sunderland, he removed him from his office, appointing Preston in his place.

James, convinced, makes concessions.

Meanwhile William, after being driven back once by the winds, on the 2nd of November started a second time from Holland, and led his fleet of nearly 600 vessels through the Straits. To avoid insulting the English pride, Herbert was put in command of the fleet. At first he proceeded northward, and all men expected the landing would be in Yorkshire, where indeed William's friends had already prepared to receive him; but suddenly changing his course, and sailing before a prosperous wind which held

William sails.

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the English fleet in the Thames, he turned towards Devonshire, and on the 5th of November reached Torbay. For an instant it seemed as if, after all, his hopes would be frustrated. In the haze he passed beyond his appointed landing-place. The next port, Plymouth, was garrisoned for James. It was hopeless to return in the teeth of the east wind; suddenly the wind changed, the haze rose, and he was enabled to enter quietly into Torbay, while at the same time the wind, freshening to a gale, drove back Dartmouth and the English fleet, which had come in close pursuit. William advanced to Exeter, and was well received by the common people, though for some time no one of importance joined him. This was partly caused by the change of his place of landing; he had been expected in the North, and would there have found his friends ready; partly also by the terrible impression that the Bloody Assizes had made in the West country. Men were afraid to risk all till they saw that the invasion was something more than the careless expedition of the ill-fated Monmouth. At length, however, the gentlemen began to come in. Danby and Devonshire organized an insurrection in the North, of which Nottingham became the centre. Other men of importance, as Seymour, Lord Colchester, and the Earl of Abingdon, joined him. His residence at Exeter began to assume the appearance of a Court.

Lands at Torbay. Advances to Exeter.

The royal army, under Feversham, had been meanwhile collecting at Salisbury. But now the deep villany of Churchill began to disclose itself. It was first seen in the desertion of Cornbury, the eldest son of Clarendon. This young officer found himself, by Churchill's management, chief in command at Salisbury. He suddenly ordered three regiments to attend him, and pushed westwards, professing to be leading them against some of the Prince's troops stationed at Honiton. On their march, the suspicion of the officers was aroused; they refused to proceed further without seeing Cornbury's orders. He had none to show, and finding that his treachery was suspected, fled alone to the Prince. Some of his troops, separated from the main body, completed their march. They found the forces at Honiton well prepared to receive them, and it seems plain that Cornbury's intention had been to hand the three regiments over into their enemy's power. The King himself now took command of the army at Salisbury, and almost fell a victim to a second machination of Churchill's. Kirke and Trelawney commanded the regiments which had been brought from Tangier, and were stationed at Warminster. They had hitherto been strong

Churchill's treason at Salisbury.

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in their assertions of loyalty. Churchill persuaded the King to go and inspect these regiments, and he was only prevented by a sudden bleeding of the nose. He had scarcely recovered when he heard that the two colonels had deserted to the Prince, and that Churchill, with a protest that his conscience would no longer allow him to oppose the Protestant cause, had followed their example. Step by step fresh instances of the same plot came to light. The advance of the Prince compelled the King to fall back towards London. At Andover, Prince George of Denmark and the Duke of Ormond, who had been supping with him the night before, deserted, and the treachery with which he was surrounded seemed complete when, on his arrival in London, he heard that, at the instigation of the Churchills, his daughter Anne had just fled and joined the Northern rebels.

On reaching London, James summoned all the Lords, spiritual and temporal, then in town, and asked their advice. At the persuasion of Halifax, who, in accordance with his usual way of thinking, hoped to play the mediator between the two parties, the King decided on sending commissioners to treat with the Prince. Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin were chosen. Writs were prepared at the same time for a new Parliament; free pardon was granted to all those in rebellion, and the Papist governor of the Tower was removed.

James sends commissioners to treat.

The negotiation and these concessions were a mere blind. James had already made up his mind. He only wanted to get his wife and child safe out of England. He would then himself fly either to France or to Ireland, where he still had hopes of re-establishing his authority. He at once set about the project. It seemed even to his friends so pusillanimous, that Dartmouth, who commanded the fleet at Portsmouth, refused to take the Queen and the little Prince to France. They had to be recalled to London, and smuggled away under the care of a French gentleman named Lauzun. Freed from domestic anxiety, the King could now study his own safety. The negotiations with the Commissioners were carried on with all solemnity at Hungerford. The noblemen and gentlemen who were with William were somewhat divided in opinion as to whether negotiations should be opened or not. After a lengthened discussion, the question was settled in the negative; but William, who was anxious that nothing which he might do should seem either the act of a conqueror or to press hardly upon the King, and who believed, as it proved correctly, that he might safely trust James to destroy his own cause, overruled the decision. He agreed

Meanwhile determines to fly.

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that the Parliament which James had summoned should meet; he agreed even to the demand that his army should not approach within forty miles of London while the Parliament was sitting; but at the same time, holding that a Parliament could not be free in the presence of the King's army, demanded in turn that that army should not approach within forty miles upon the other side of London. He would thus be occupying the position of arbiter, allowing the nation to settle its own affairs. The Commissioners were astonished and delighted with the success of their mission, and wrote in most hopeful terms to James. But the King was determined to complete his folly. Even after the receipt of their letter he continued his preparations for flight. As though to prove the thoroughness of the deception he had practised in negotiating, he burnt all the writs for the Parliament which had not yet been sent out, and in the hope of leaving inextricable confusion behind him, took with him the Great Seal, and as he fled across the river with Sir Edward Hales, late Governor of the Tower, flung it into the stream. He then proceeded towards Sheerness, where he was met by a custom-house ship. Nothing could have suited William's policy better than the King's flight. Without any severity on his part, without in any way departing from his Declaration, he was free from his greatest difficulty.

His flight. Dec. 11.

Nor was this all. Halifax, whose adhesion was invaluable, enraged at the way in which he had been trifled with, henceforward heartily joined William; and a large section of the Tories, who held themselves bound by their allegiance while the King was in England, were ready to acknowledge, as they thought in accordance with their own principles, any King who might be placed upon the throne now vacant.

Position of the Tories.

The morning after James's flight, London was in consternation. All men seemed to agree that there was nothing to be done but declare for the Prince. To preserve order for the moment, the Peers that were in London took upon themselves the government, and placing Sancroft, the Archbishop, at the head of their Council, issued a declaration that they would join the Prince of Orange, and took the responsibility of keeping order meanwhile. It was well that some authority had been established, for London burst out into wild riots. The Roman Catholic houses and chapels were sacked and burnt, the houses of the Spanish and Tuscan ambassadors pillaged. In the midst of the tumult Jeffreys was discovered, and with difficulty saved from the savage vengeance of the mob. The following night, known as "the Irish night," rumours were spread that the wild

Peers assume the government.

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Irish army of Feversham, which the King, to increase the disorder, had disbanded, was coming to burn the City. The rumour was a false one, but the excitement for the moment was extreme, all London rushed to arms, and the streets were barricaded. Nothing but William's presence could restore order. He therefore hurried towards London, having previously instructed Churchill to bring the dispersed army again into discipline.

William approaches London.

It seemed as if the struggle was over, as if nothing was wanted to complete the triumph of William, when, to the distress of all moderate men, it appeared that James had been stopped by some Kentish fishermen, under the impression that he was a fugitive Catholic, and after much insult, had been rescued from their hands and taken to Rochester. The reappearance of the King upon the scene, for he shortly returned to London, again withdrew from the Prince the adhesion of those Tories who were willing to obey the King "de facto." It seemed to William necessary to frighten James into a second flight. On his arrival in London, some slight show of loyalty having been exhibited, James plucked up some courage: Whitehall was again crowded with Jesuits and Catholics. He expressed extreme displeasure with the Lords who had usurped his authority, and pressed for a personal interview with the Prince. The interview was refused; so was his request to the Common Council of London, that they would secure his safety. The situation was now somewhat difficult. William was determined to come to London. Yet the presence of two commanders and two armies in one city was likely to be highly inconvenient. He insisted that James should withdraw, recommending him to take up his residence at Ham. James had neither will nor courage to resist, but still, with the idea of a second flight, he begged to be allowed to go to Rochester. William was only too glad to allow him to do so, and on the 18th of December, James fell into the trap which William had set for him, rose in the dead of the night, attended only by his natural son Berwick, and took ship for France, where he was received by Louis with a chivalrous respect which is almost touching.

James returns.

Finally escapes to France.

Again, then, William's course was fairly clear before him, but immense difficulties beset him. Most of his friends urged him to assume the crown by right of conquest. Yet he felt that this would not only be giving the lie to his Declaration, but would also be injuring the feelings of a high-spirited nation, and inasmuch as no important fighting had really taken place, would

William's difficulty.

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be untrue. He resolved to pursue to the full his constitutional policy. He summoned the Lords, and as no House of Commons could be for the moment got at, he requested all those gentlemen who had sat in Parliament during the reign of Charles II. to meet him, and discuss the state of the nation. The upshot of this debate was that William should issue writs in his own name summoning a convention, freely elected, and to all intents, except in name, a Parliament; and that to this convention should be referred the question of the settlement of England.

Decides for a convention. Jan. 22, 1689.

Almost identically the same course was followed with regard to Scotland. There, too, Protestant outbreaks had taken place, and the chief agents of James's tyranny had been imprisoned or put to flight. A number of important Scotchmen being in London, were assembled to advise the Prince, and they recommended, that in Scotland, as in England, the Estates should be convened on the 14th of March following.

As was certain to be the case, the elections, now free, were largely in favour of the Whigs. Yet still there was a considerable minority of Tories, almost all of whom, however, were in favour of some strong course for securing future good government. The plan of the highest Tories, among whom were most of the clergy, was to open a negotiation with James, and to let him return upon conditions. A second plan, which originated with Sancroft, was to allow James to continue nominally on the throne, but to put the Government entirely into the hands of a regent named by Parliament. This seemed to Sancroft a way by which oaths of allegiance could be kept and good government secured. A third party, at the head of which was Danby, asserted that the English crown could not be vacant; the flight of the King having terminated his reign, the Princess Mary, as next of kin—for he was willing to ignore the doubtful Prince of Wales—became "ipso facto" Queen. The Whigs, on the other hand, throwing to the winds all notion of Divine right, asserted the principle which had been gradually accepted in England since the Revolution of 1640, that the monarch held his position only in virtue of a contract with the people, that when that contract was broken the people had a right to remove him and to choose another king. In the Commons, the majority of the Whigs was so great that there was not much difficulty in arriving at a resolution. This resolution asserted that "King James II., having endeavoured to subvert the Constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between King and

Three views of arranging the succession.

Commons declare the throne vacant.

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people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked people having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the Government, and that the throne had thereby became vacant." In the Lords more difficulty arose. The Tories insisted upon discussing, first of all, the plan for the regency, and it was only lost by a majority of two. Danby had now the opportunity of bringing forward his plan. He had hitherto acted with the Whigs, but when the question was raised whether the throne was vacant or not, holding, as has been said, the view that this was impossible, he joined the Tories with his followers, and the majority decided in the negative. For a moment great difficulties arose. The House of Commons refused to accept any change in the resolution; the Lords for a time held firm.

William all this time carefully abstained from declaring any opinion in the matter. But it now seemed as if his wife would probably be made Queen, while he himself must occupy the position of minister. The fidelity of Mary saved him from the awkward position. She wrote to Danby expressing her abhorrence of such a scheme. Sure of his wife's views, William now expressed himself strongly. Danby gave way, and a sort of compromise was hit upon, by which it was declared that the throne should be filled by William and Mary as joint sovereigns, the administration of Government being in the hands of the Prince.

Compromise decided on.

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STATE OF SOCIETY.

1660-1688.

IN reading the history of the later Stuarts, we cannot but be struck by the great change which has taken place since the Restoration. The shadow of the Middle Ages has wholly disappeared; we find ourselves in presence of an entirely modern world, of a state of society easy to understand, of a political life which, in most respects, exactly resembles our own.

Modern character of the period of the later Stuarts.

Europe had assumed the form which, with certain changes, it still wears. The Thirty Years' War had completed the religious struggle. At the Peace of Westphalia, the Protestant and Catholic religions had found fixed limits which have never since been materially altered. The shadowy importance of the mediæval Empire had disappeared, the independence of the great Princes of Germany was acknowledged, and the Empire became little more than a loosely connected confederation. Spain, the great power of the last century, had been hurrying onward in its course of decay, and was no longer a source of dread to Europe, or a power whose friendship or enmity was of the first importance in political calculations. The short-lived greatness of Holland was already on the decline, though her fleets were still the most formidable in Europe, and her wealth increasing. The pre-eminence of Spain had passed to France. The consolidation of the monarchy was there completed; the part she had taken in the later years of the Thirty Years' War had secured her a position of paramount importance in Germany. French diplomacy mingled authoritatively in the policy of every nation, a large army kept in a complete state of organization even in peace secured the power the country had won. Even on the sea the French navy found a rival only in Holland.

In Europe.

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The same establishment of modern forms and relations was visible at home. The mediæval baron, the Tudor lord of the council, had given way to the modern nobleman. The country gentleman and the wealthy trader, now admitted into the ranks of the gentry, had come into existence. The great religious questions of the sixteenth century, the great political questions of the seventeenth century, had been alike fought out. The deep enthusiasm, the fixed convictions, and the laborious and subtle policy of the preceding generation had disappeared, to make room for questions of personal power, and the more petty interests of party politics. Of course, great principles and interests have arisen from time to time in later days, but one of the most essential differences between modern and mediæval times is the absence of certainty, the general weakness of men's convictions, and a readiness to compromise. The rapid changes through which England had been passing naturally produced such a state of mind in the reign of Charles II. Loyalty, and the belief in the divine right of kings, had received an irretrievable blow. Puritanism, the subjection of the State to the purposes of religion, had been tried and had failed. The enthusiasm which had marked the earlier efforts of the Puritan party had proved evanescent; the enthusiasm which greeted the Restoration was of even shorter duration. The old beliefs of the preceding centuries had received rude shocks. Bacon had opened the way for a new method of natural philosophy, and thrown even an undue amount of discredit upon the deductive method of inquiry. Hobbes had traced royalty to a contract between the governor and the governed, a contract permanent indeed, and leaving the monarch's authority inalienable and apparently despotic, but leading directly to the more liberal views which were prevalent at the Revolution. He had assaulted the very source of religious authority by applying reason as the sole means of explaining inspiration. Thus shaken, both by experience and through their intellects, from their old creeds, men had lost for the time the power of clear conviction. This exclusion of seriousness from public life was fostered by the careless and pleasure-loving character of the King, for it must not be forgotten that constitutional monarchy in the present meaning of the term had not yet been established, the King, and not the Prime Minister, was still the source of all political advance; it was therefore necessary for aspirants to office to find means of pleasing the monarch, whose personal character thus exercised an influence far greater than at present. As a con-

At home.

Want of conviction.

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sequence of this, the political leaders of the time were courtiers, and the Court was filled with men by no means representing the deeper feelings and opinions of the nation, but drawn from that class who were most affected by all the causes which were operating to produce intellectual and political scepticism. At the same time, the enormous salaries paid to the great officials reduced politics to a trade, and rendered office an object so desirable, as to outweigh, in the eyes of those whose consciences were not very scrupulous, considerable sacrifices of principle. Even the greatest questions thus assumed a mere personal and political character, and when the Revolution came, it was the work rather of a party driven to desperation by the complete failure of their plans, and by the headstrong conduct of the King, than that of a nation stirred to its depths by strong love of principle and truth. There is in it none of the grandeur which marked the opening of the Long Parliament, nor did it count among its leaders one man of heroic character. Yet, although a deplorable want of principle is throughout visible in the politics of the time, and the personal influence exercised upon them by the King very great, the very opposite lessons which had been taught by the Great Rebellion had not been wholly in vain. The Revolution was, in fact, the completion of the work of the Rebellion thrown into a practical form. Although the struggle between the Puritan and Episcopalian was for the present laid aside, there was enough of religious party feeling left to render all classes hostile to the Catholic Church; while the Puritan regarded it as the chief enemy to that spiritual creed which he considered the first necessity of life, the English Churchman saw in it the threatening enemy to his own position as a member of a dominant and national Church. All classes recognized the necessity of constitutional government, not indeed in the strict sense in which we now employ the word, but with a very strong determination to uphold the safeguards, such as they were, of life and property, which the English Constitution offered. It was when the desire of the Kings Charles and James (directed to establishing on the one hand a despotism resembling that of the French, and on the other the Roman Catholic religion) hurried them into actions which seemed to touch the security of person and property, that the nation almost universally combined to change its dynasty.

Thus the objects of party were very similar to those which have ever since existed, either personal aggrandizement in the possession of power, or the maintenance of constitutional right; and as, on the whole, these objects were sought by Parliamentary means, we are

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able to realize without difficulty the political situation of the time.

But in spite of this modern character, the condition of England was very different to what it now is. The population was not accurately numbered, but a fair estimate can be arrived at by a comparison of the number of houses assessed a few years after the Revolution in the last collection of the hearth-tax, and the report drawn up for ecclesiastical purposes about the same time. From these it has been calculated that the inhabitants of England were between five and six millions in number. This population was much more generally distributed than at present; while the inhabitants of towns numbered about 1,600,000, nearly 4,000,000 lived in the country. **Condition of the population.**

The relative importance of land, whether as a source of wealth or of political influence, was therefore far greater than it is at present. But important though it was, the management and cultivation of land would have seemed to us extraordinarily backward. The agriculture was of the rudest description, half of the country was still unreclaimed waste; it was not for another half century that enclosure bills became numerous. Though the principle of the rotation of crops was already known, it was little applied. There was great difficulty in preserving the cattle through the winter, and it was customary to kill a great quantity about October, and salt them down for winter use. Even the households of the nobility tasted no fresh meat during the winter months. The appliances of farming were very primitive, the ploughs and harrows so inefficient that the clods left by them had to be broken up with a heavy beetle before the land could be sown. The yearly harvest of all sorts amounted to little more than ten millions of quarters, of which the wheat crop is estimated at not more than a fifth. Wheaten bread was consequently an article of luxury, and the ordinary food of the peasant was rye bread or oat cake. Although flocks and herds were abundant, the cattle were diminutive and of poor quality. It must be taken into consideration, when we hear of the price of sheep and oxen, that the average weight of a sheep did not exceed 28 lbs., that of an ox 370 lbs. At present the former would weigh nearer 100 lbs., the latter 1000 lbs. The horses of England had not yet attained the celebrity they now enjoy; they were so bad that good judges held that the meanest hack from Arabia or Africa was better than the best English horse, and Flemish horses were habitually imported for purposes of show. Races, which had become fashionable, had already been the cause of the intro- **Agriculture.**

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duction of Eastern blood, but the present English horses, from the race-horse to the huge London draught-horse, were the creations of the next century.

Employments of the rural population.

But although the land and agriculture, such as it was, formed the main occupation of Englishmen, it is not fair to regard the whole rural population as exclusively agricultural. Already most of the great industries of England, which a century later gave their character to English civilization, were in existence; but the period is an intermediate one, during which manufactures were local and domestic, carried on in the midst of the agricultural population, and locally distributed in accordance with the opportunities afforded for them by the various advantages of different districts, and not yet brought to great centres by the unlimited power of steam. Consequently the geographical arrangement of the population was also very different from what it now is. The South and West of England were then much more populous than the great Northern counties, which were in part still suffering from years of wasting war with the Scotch, in part regarded as uninhabitable on account of their rough and mountainous character. It was not till machinery was largely employed, and the water power supplied by the rills of the mountainous districts became a matter of prime necessity, that the change in the balance of population took place.

Woollen manufactures.

The chief manufacture of England was woollen cloth of various sorts, and the Cotswold Hills and Wiltshire and Hampshire Downs afforded the chief grazing ground for sheep; moreover, the waters of the Avon and the Stroud were regarded as particularly good for fulling and dyeing. Frome, Bradford, Trowbridge, Devizes and Stroud were the chief towns in which the manufacture was carried on. But both the spinning and the greater part of the weaving was pursued chiefly in the houses of the workmen, who occupied villages lying round the manufacturing centres, where the factors, who collected the cloth, and the fullers and dyers, who completed it for the market, lived. The trade extended far into Devonshire, where Exeter was famous for its market of serge; but it was not confined to the Western counties. In Yorkshire the same causes apparently that had been at work in the West had established a large clothing trade. Bradford, Huddersfield, Wakefield, Halifax, and Leeds were already important centres of this manufacture. Here again the trade took much the same form, the workers inhabited scattered villages, and the water of the neighbouring rills, supplied to every house, afforded the means of dyeing. Here, however, manufacture

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seems to have been separated from agriculture,—neighbouring counties furnished the corn, and well-supplied markets the meat for the clothing districts. The Bridge of Leeds was the great cloth market; the streets in the neighbourhood were lined with open counters, to which each man brought his modicum of cloth, which was there purchased by the great factors. There was one great instance of a manufacturing town, and that was Norwich. Thither, centuries before, the art of cloth-making had been brought from Flanders, and there it still flourished, rendering the town the third city in the country. The number of its inhabitants was about 28,000. So completely was the woollen manufacture regarded as the chief industry of England, that all others were sacrificed to it. The exportation of wool was strictly prohibited, though the Dutch offered higher prices for it than English purchasers. In the first year of William III. most stringent measures were taken for this purpose, and the wool-growing counties were overrun by a swarm of customhouse officers, whose efforts to enforce the law not unfrequently gave rise to bloody encounters.

Cotton, linen, and silk manufactures.

Manufactures of other fabrics had begun, but were so completely in their infancy that they had to be sustained by strict protective laws, and when their interests interfered with those of the woollen trade, their destruction was regarded as good economy. Thus Manchester was already employed upon cotton brought from Smyrna and the Levant. But while, on the one hand, it was thought necessary, shortly after the Revolution, to foster this manufacture by the prohibition of the use of Indian calicoes, on the other hand, within a few years, for the sake of encouraging the use of the lighter woollen fabrics, the use of calico was entirely forbidden. Warrington manufactured linen, but every discouragment was given to the trade, which was regarded as the special occupation of Ireland. The manufacture of silk had been early introduced into England; in 1629 the silk throwsters of the metropolis had been formed into a company, and in 1666 the trade is said to have employed no less than 40,000 men. The influx of French refugees after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes had still further increased the trade, of which Spitalfields, where they chiefly settled, became the centre. During the whole of the reign of Charles II. foreign silks were from time to time prohibited, but on the whole their importation was free. Yet, according to the perverse economical policy of the time, although in the midst of this importation, which amounted to nearly £700,000 worth annually, the English

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trade was continually advancing, it was thought necessary shortly after the Revolution to bolster it up by a complete prohibition of the silks both of Europe and of Asia.

Iron, salt and coal.

The mineral wealth of England, on which it now so much relies, was but little developed, and, as in the case of wool, local circumstances determined the position of the works connected with it. Although the possibility of using pit coal for the smelting of iron had been discovered by Lord Dudley in 1619, it was not till the middle of the next century that the process was largely employed. The necessity of a supply of wood for charcoal had therefore rendered the Forest of Dean, in Monmouthshire, where the old workings of the Romans were continued, and the well-wooded counties of Surrey and Sussex, the chief centres of the trade; but the quantity of iron produced was little more than 12,000 tons a year, not the 200th part of the present produce. It was enough, however, to employ a certain number of furnaces and anvils at such towns as Stourbridge, Wolverhampton and Birmingham. The last-named town was sufficiently important to have been chosen by Cromwell to send a member to his Parliament. But the manufacture of iron rose little beyond smiths' work, and was chiefly confined to the production of rough agricultural implements. Sheffield, too, continued that manufacture of steel for which, as we learn from Chaucer, it was even in his age celebrated; but the greater part both of our iron and steel was imported. Salt, so important an element in many manufactures, and so necessary as an article of food, had been originally obtained from the sea by evaporation. In 1670, rock-salt was discovered at Nantwich in Cheshire, but the processes employed in procuring it and cleansing it were so bad that it was extremely unwholesome, and many of the prevalent diseases of the time were popularly traced to its use. It was early taken possession of by financiers as an article on which a tax might advantageously be laid, and it was not till the heavy duty, amounting to many times the value of the article itself, was removed, that its employment in the production of soda, and consequently in the manufacture of soap and other articles, became of much importance. Even coal was comparatively but little used. The Welsh pits gave fuel to the Western counties, and Northumberland supplied the capital; though the quantity required and the number of ships employed in its transport were the objects of wonder and admiration at the time, the whole quantity raised was infinitely small compared to what it now is. China and porcelain, the other great

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productions of England, may be said not to have been manufactured at all. There were indeed potteries where rough earthenware vessels were made, and at Burslem a few ovens for glazing with salt, but Holland supplied most of the earthenware used in wealthier houses, while all such finer porcelain as existed was brought from the East. It is perhaps worth observing with regard to machinery, that comparatively small as the manufactures were, the discoveries which subsequently changed the face of England had already been made, but were kept from development by false political economy, and by the extreme difficulty of movement caused by the absence of good roads. Thus Lea's stocking-frame was used in Nottingham; the Marquis of Worcester had, in 1663, discovered the motive power of steam; and rails, although only of wood, were already used in the collieries.

Domestic trade.

It will be plain from this summary of the manufactures of England that the exports of the country must have consisted chiefly of woollen fabrics, but that there must also have been a considerable domestic trade, by which the products of different parts of the country were exchanged against each other. Much of this domestic trade was carried on by pack-horses; the means of locomotion were very bad, the roads few and in wretched condition, wheeled vehicles were seldom employed. Inland water communication had not yet found its way into the country; the works of the French engineers were wondered at and admired but not yet copied. Naturally therefore, where possible, carriage by sea was employed. There was a considerable amount of small coasting trade, and a number of little ports, since wholly decayed, were at this time thriving places. Those on the South coast were still further enriched by the trade with France, and Topsham on the Exe, Weymouth and Lyme were places of some importance.

Foreign trade.

By far the larger part of the foreign trade was in the hands of the inhabitants of London; the tonnage of that port (84,000 tons) was more than a fifth of the tonnage of the country. There the great companies had their houses; for the trade with distant foreign nations was chiefly in the hands of companies, such as the Russian, the Turkey, and the East India Company. Some of these were on the exclusive joint-stock principle, trading in common, and enjoying a monopoly of the trade in which they were engaged; others were what is called open or regulated companies, in which each individual member traded with his own capital and at his own risk, but subscribed something towards a common stock for the

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general purposes of the trade. In both instances the object of the co-operation was the same. It was held that, in order to open up a trade with a strange and distant country, the power of contracting treaties and the use of such apparatus as is usually employed by Government—soldiers, consuls and diplomatic agents—was a necessity. As Government was disinclined to meet this expense, the companies undertook to bear it: in the case of the chartered and joint-stock companies, they received in exchange the monopoly of the trade; in the case of the regulated companies, where competition was not limited, the work which was done in common was carried out for the sake of the direct advantage derived from it.

London, Bristol and Liverpool.

The population and wealth of London was even then probably greater than that of any other capital in Europe, and no other town in England at all approached it. The second trading city was Bristol, numbering rather less than 30,000 inhabitants, and growing wealthy by the trade with the Western colonies, and the commercial enterprise of its inhabitants, of whom it is remarked that even small shopkeepers were not content without some venture to the West Indies. This trade brought with it the not very honourable occupation of trading in slaves, and still worse, in English criminals and kidnapped vagrants, who were exported and apprenticed to the planters. Liverpool was in existence and thriving, but as yet there was no dock; the goods were landed in the open river, and carried by pack-horses through England, for the Lancashire roads were notoriously bad, and of water communication there was none.

The mercantile system.

All the trade of the country, such as it was, was organized in accordance with that view of political economy known as the mercantile system, under the restrictions of the Navigation Act, and of those arrrangements which limited the intercourse of the mother country with her colonies. The mercantile system was a further development of the same theory that had regulated the trade of the Plantagenets. It was still the universal belief that money alone was wealth; but the severe measures which had restricted commerce in earlier times, when bargains were so arranged that each should produce an immediate influx of the precious metals, had been found inapplicable to extensive and distant trades; and writers, especially Thomas Mun, whose first work reached a second edition in 1621, but whose second and more important work was published soon after the Restoration, had begun to point out that some relaxations were necessary. It was chiefly in the interests of

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the East India Company that the change of system was introduced. The natives of India, always a hoarding people, demanded payment for their goods in silver. The Indian trade therefore required a constant export of the precious metals, but it was pointed out by Mun, and those who thought with him, that eventually, if not immediately, the money would come back to England with a considerable increase, and that, if that was the case, it was foolish to check the export of silver because in each particular bargain there was no immediate return. It was urged that a more general view of the question was necessary, that the real way of estimating the increase of wealth was by observing what was called the balance of trade. If England exported to any country more than it imported from it, the balance must have been made up in money payments, and the transactions of that particular branch of its commerce was advantageous to the country by the amount of this balance. Commercial wisdom was thus supposed to consist in checking importation, in fostering exportation, and in preventing as far as possible trade with any country where the balance was unfavourable to England. It was held to be impossible that mutual advantage should arise from commerce; what one country gained the other must of necessity lose. From these principles an incessant jealousy sprang into existence, together with the system of fostering domestic manufactures, however little adapted for them the country might be, the imposition of heavy and often prohibitive customs on the importation of goods, and the bestowal of bounties upon exportation. Thus the trade with France, whence much more wine and silk was imported than counterbalanced the cloth exported, was regarded with extreme jealousy as tending to the ruin of the country, the balance of trade being all against England. The war with France after the Revolution enabled the upholders of this theory to give effect to their jealousy; the trade with France was stopped, and the little ports on the south coast reduced to ruin. The Navigation Act passed in 1651, in the time of Cromwell, and renewed in 1672 in Charles II.'s reign, is an example of a similar jealous and selfish view of commerce. In both cases the Act was directed against the Dutch, and—by compelling goods to be imported either in English vessels or in the vessels of the country in which the imported articles were manufactured—aimed at destroying, as far as England was concerned, the carrying trade, which was the great source of the wealth of Holland. The same selfish character is again visible in the legislation with regard to the colonial trade. Colonies

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were regarded as valuable, solely in so far as they afforded markets for the English merchants. This view of the colonies was not the original one, but an Act of 1650, passed by the Republican Government, confined both the import and export trade exclusively to British or colonial ships. The Navigation Act of 1651 enacted further, that a great number of articles, known as "enumerated" articles, should not be exported directly from the colonies to any foreign country, but should be first sent to England. This Act was followed, in 1663, by one which practically excluded the colonists from every market for European goods except that of England. The effect of this legislation was to force the industry of England into the production of articles for which it was unfitted, and to encourage a great amount of smuggling.

Character of the people.

The character of the inhabitants of the country of which the material condition has been sketched was much influenced by two points already mentioned—the pre-eminent greatness of London, and the difficulty of locomotion. The distinction between the courtiers and the whole body of the nation, and the great influence exercised by the country gentry, are two of the features which seem most peculiar in the state of classes at the time.

Condition of London.

London was in fact a wholly different place from the rest of England. Scarcely lighted at all, ill paved, swarming at night with riotous young men of birth, called by various nicknames, such as Tityre Tus, Muns, and Scourers, who rendered traffic in the dark dangerous, it was yet the abode of the chief wealth and the chief culture of the nation. That culture was by no means wholly good. The reaction from the Puritan times, the pre-eminence of France, and the introduction of French manners, in all their wickedness, without their refinement, had produced a state of licentiousness among the courtiers which we can now scarcely conceive. It was visible on all sides; the statesmen who ruled England did not think it beneath them to be guilty of such scandals that the very people of London were with difficulty restrained from taking the law into their own hands to punish them. As an instance of the temper of the time, it may be mentioned that Buckingham killed in a duel the Earl of Shrewsbury, whose runaway wife, dressed as his page, was standing beside her paramour at the moment. Literature did not escape the taint. At the playhouses might be nightly seen acted in public, comedies of a grossness of language and action which could not now be whispered, and this language now put for the first time into the mouths of women. But in spite of this external licen-

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tiousness, it was in London almost exclusively that elegant manners and refined learning were to be met with. It was there alone that Churchmen of eminence were to be found, of a wholly different race from the impoverished and dependent country rector: and it was there that the commercial world was rapidly acquiring that consideration, wealth and capital, which render it so important an element in society after the Revolution.

But into this strange world the country gentlemen seldom entered. Though there was an increasing disposition to gather round the Court, the country towns were still centres of a fashion of their own. The great country families still retained their houses there, where they passed some portion of the year. The ordinary squire was not likely to find a visit to the capital very agreeable; his rustic manners, speech and dress laid him constantly open to ridicule, and his homely morality was shocked by the open profligacy he saw around him. The gentry thus resided for the most part upon their own estates. As a class they were extremely ignorant, in manners little better than a small farmer of the present day. Seldom opening a book, unless it were a work on heraldry, they spent their time in the management of their estates and in hunting. Yet ignorant and boorish as they were, their position was one of great importance: nearly the whole of the justice of the country was gratuitously performed by them. In a rough way they were to those around them the representatives of law and government. In their hands was the only army which England possessed. There were indeed a few regiments of regular troops, the Life Guards, the Blues, a regiment or two of dragoons, and some regiments of infantry, such as Monk's Coldstream Guards and the garrison of Tangier (which was kept on foot when that dependency was abandoned), but on the whole not much more than 6000 troops were permanently embodied. The military force of England was the militia, under the command of the Lord-Lieutenant, and officered by the country gentlemen. They thus in their own districts exercised an influence far greater than their cultivation seemed to justify. Rivals they had none, for the clergy, whose income is estimated to average between £40 and £80 a year, in many cases eked out this pittance by holding the position of domestic chaplain in some neighbouring gentleman's house, where they ranked as little better than servants. Such influence as they had—and it would be wrong to underrate the power vested in the hands of a body who had the whole spiritual guidance of the country—was employed for the same objects as that

The country gentlemen.

The clergy.

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of the country gentlemen. Both classes were bigoted upholders of the national Church. Below the gentry we find mentioned a very large class of small freeholders, who must have formed the really independent power of the country, with incomes varying from £40 to £90 a year.

The freeholders.

It is difficult to arrive at any conclusion as to the condition of the labourer and artisan. Their wages at first sight appear very low. It was the habit to engage farm labourers by the year, and to keep them in the farm-buildings themselves. When hired in this manner, a thoroughly good servant was paid about £5 a year; when working as a day labourer, such a man was paid about sixpence a day with his food, or a shilling without it. A master artisan received the same wages. But, no doubt, at times higher wages were given. Sir Edward Hales speaks of ten shillings a week, and De Foe mentions the refusal of his offer of nine shillings. The wages of the country were generally settled by the justices in their sessions, and it was then a punishable offence to receive more than the sum fixed. The usual amount of wages paid does not however give any very certain knowledge of the condition of the labourer unless the current prices of the time are also known. It seems probable that, although meat was considerably cheaper than it is now, the condition of the peasantry was not on the whole so good as at present. Clothing was comparatively more expensive, and wheat, the price of which fluctuated much, was quite as dear. It averaged during Charles II.'s reign nearly fifty shillings the quarter, and the change in the habit of the people which induced them to eat wheaten bread in the place of rye, is mentioned as one of the causes of the prevailing distress. Ordinary vegetables also were then rarities and fetched proportionately high prices. For instance, cauliflowers cost as much as 1s. 6d. a piece, while potatoes were but little grown. In other respects the position of the poor was much to be pitied. The inconvenience of the poor man's lot was considerable. The poor law of Elizabeth had compelled parishes to undertake the maintenance of their own poor; and, naturally desirous to prevent the increase of the poor rate, each parish looked with jealousy upon any stranger who arrived within its borders, regarding him as a possible pauper. But up till 1662, the labourer had been allowed to change his residence as he pleased. In that year the Law of Settlement was passed, to determine what was meant by the poor of a parish. In order to obtain a settlement, that is, a claim upon the poor rate, a man must either have been born in the parish or have resided in it forty days. On his

The labourers.

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arrival in a fresh parish, the justices, before the expiration of the forty days, might, upon the complaint of the parish officers, remove him to the parish where he had already a settlement. The execution of this law, on which parishes in their jealousy would naturally insist, stopped the circulation of labour. Thus, while on the one hand the justices settled the local maximum of wages, it was impossible on the other hand for the poor man to remove into any other parish where his labour was more wanted. He was in fact again bound to the soil, and liable, if his parish became over full, to sink into the ranks of the pauper population, who are said to have amounted to one-seventh of the people. This enormou number naturally attracted the attention of thinking men, and many schemes for the purpose of lessening it were proposed. The all tended in one direction. It seemed absurd either to punish for idleness men willing to work when no work was to be found, or to spend large sums yearly in keeping them in idleness. All the schemes were directed to employing the rates to supply work, or in other words, for the establishment of public workshops, in which the poor rates should be employed as the capital for carrying on some manufacture, which it was deemed desirable to promote in the country; a plan which might in some degree answer in a thinly-populated country with undeveloped resources, but obviously impracticable where capital is seeking employment in every lucrative manufacture, and the labour market already overstocked.

The paupers.

We find in the condition of classes here described some explanation of the phenomena of the Revolution. It cannot be truly called a popular movement. Though the whole nation shared largely in it, its direction was chiefly in the hands of courtiers and statesmen of no high principle, to whom liberty meant the diminution of the power of the Crown and the establishment of aristocratic influence. Its strength was derived chiefly from the temporary support of the country gentry and clergy, hurt on their tenderest point—their love for the English Church,—and from the acquiescence of the rising moneyed class, who saw in it an opportunity for the better employment of their capital. The lower classes followed blindly as their local rulers bade them.

If this view appears dark, it must be taken with considerable modifications. The external appearances of the time were worse than the reality. The Puritan feeling was by no means wholly extinct. In all classes, especially among the lower classes, connections and traditions of the great Cause were still kept alive. There were still

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many men who honestly loved liberty for liberty's sake, and ardently desired some restoration of purity of life. It is thus only we can explain the success and popularity of such a book as Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and the distinct efforts at religious revival of which we find traces. Among the young men in London, religious societies were formed, of which there are no less than forty mentioned a few years later. These societies, which were in connection with the Church of England, bound themselves to a thorough performance of the duties enjoined by the Church, established frequent Communion and public prayer in many churches, and devoted themselves to relieving the poor, assisting prisoners, reclaiming the vicious, and to the education of the young. It is nevertheless true that in spite of the great effects which the Revolution produced, we find among its leaders scarcely any men, with the exception of William III. himself, of Lord Somers, and perhaps Halifax, whose character commands our admiration or respect, or who appear to be actuated by an unselfish desire for national advance.

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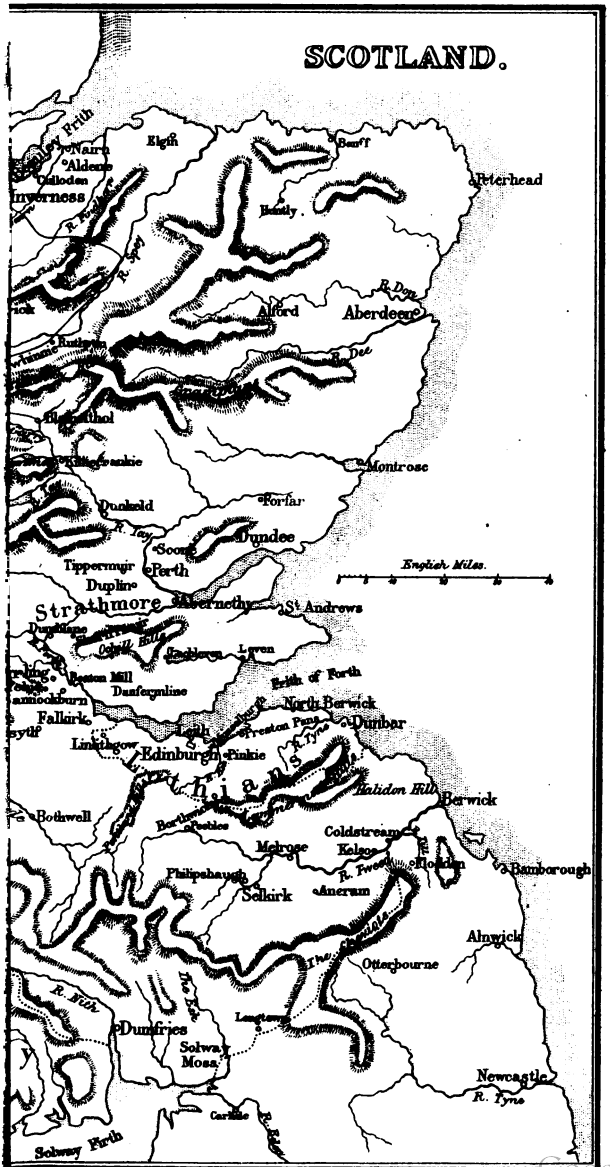


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